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A RATIONALE FOR AND EXPERIMENT IN
INTERACTION BETWEEN PERSONS OF DIFFERING CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS
AS A TECHNIQUE OF RENEWAL FOR THE SUBURBAN CHURCH

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H. William Gregory
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H. William Gregory

*under the direction of his Faculty Committee,
and approved by its members, has been presented
to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of
Theology at Claremont in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of*

DOCTOR OF RELIGION

Faculty Committee

Harvey Auer
F. Thomas Trotter
Allen J. Moore

Date June 1967

F. Thomas Trotter
Dean

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It was during the campaigning and subsequent vote on the California initiative issue known as Proposition 14 that this writer became acutely aware of the irrelevancy of the suburban Protestant churches with regard to one of the basic questions of religious significance in our time, whether another person is as important as one's own property. The Churches failed in this significant confrontation of the sanctity of persons and the sanctity of property for two reasons: they were unable to move in the public realm with any effectiveness or power, and they were unable to agree among themselves, within the individual congregations, regarding the significant point of whether there was in fact a moral issue involved.

Some may view the entire Proposition 14 episode in California history and discount it as evidence of the enigmatic nature of this particular state. Others, and with these this writer identifies himself, suggest that California culture is but an advanced example of the direction in which our entire American culture is heading as a result of the dual phenomena of affluence and urbanization. This applies to the culture and to the place of the Churches within that culture, as well. If this is true we must work to gain an understanding of the underlying dynamics and the task to which the Church is called as a result of our findings.

A task that presents itself to this writer as central to the

matter of our understanding the direction of our society and the place of the Church within it, is to determine the source from which contemporary man derives his concept of self-worth. The questions we must ask deal with what is considered valuable in today's culture and what forces in the experience of man brought him to that understanding of value. The task is essentially a religious one for we are seeking to understand the dimensions of modern life that represent man's ultimate concerns, those things in which he has placed his faith.

The focus of this paper is upon the suburb in American society and more particularly the suburb in California, for they are the suburbs best known to this writer. The suburb is chosen for our attention for three reasons: it is here in our culture that the phenomenon of affluency is most observable, it is from the suburb that a large segment of our population derives its sense of values and self-worth, and it is in the suburbs that the Protestant denominations have their strongest institutional representation.

It is this writer's conviction that an adequate study of the suburban condition of man and the Church must be approached from two directions, an understanding of the forces of society that are working upon individuals, and the individual's reaction to those forces. With this in mind, Chapter 2 is intended to develop an understanding of the phenomenon of urbanization. Chapter 3 develops an understanding of the affects of social forces upon individuals and their reactions. Theories of social psychology are called forth in this analysis. Throughout this discussion the implications of

our findings for the Church are discussed. Chapter 4 and 5 present and discuss the findings of an experiment designed to test the feasibility of a method of exposure and interaction intended to counteract the forces for dehumanization found in the urban suburb. The nature and methodology of this experiment is described in Chapter 4. Chapter 6 is a summary of insights presented as a subjective analysis of the condition of contemporary man in the suburb and the dilemma and challenge to the Church found in this situation.

CHAPTER II

THE SUBURB AND URBANIZATION

George Webber has repeated a major thesis of his regarding the relevance of the Church's work in the inner cities of America in virtually every piece of writing he has done about his work at the East Harlem Protestant Parish. He points to the statements of sociologists who tell of the rapid change in our society from a rural to an urban condition. He says, ". . .in the inner city one sees most clearly the problems basic to all urban life in full force."¹ "What is happening to youngsters in the inner city, horrifying, exaggerated, distorted as it may seem to us, in actual fact gives a picture of the kind of pressures to which youth of our whole culture are subjected. This is the relevance of the inner city to the life of our whole culture."²

In East Harlem one sees with incredible starkness the depersonalization of our modern world. If, however, depersonalization does in fact characterize our whole society, then East Harlem is not a backwater of modern America, a place where certain problems have not yet been solved, but rather a place in which one sees more obviously than elsewhere the basic problems with which our society is confronted. When one lists the crucial problems which face the people of East Harlem, they sound very much like a similar catalog in the Atlantic Monthly or the Sunday magazine section of the New York Times -- racial discrimination, inadequate housing, broken homes, overcrowded schools,

¹George W. Webber, The Congregation in Mission (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), p. 11.

²Ibid., p. 11.

juvenile delinquency, alienation from meaning in work, problems in use of leisure time.³

"In the inner city the forces that dehumanize life are often direct and obvious, but in more subtle ways, the same forces seem to operate in the whole range of urban life."⁴

The thesis is clear; urbanization is a fact of contemporary life. Depersonalization is the human manifestation of that fact and is found throughout our culture. The inner city is claimed to be a microcosm of the cultural macrocosm and as such is of concern to the Church for two reasons: (1) the people in the inner city facing radical depersonalization are in the greatest need of the redemptive presence of Jesus Christ, and (2) the Church must face the question of its ability to minister in the name of Jesus Christ to persons caught up in an urban culture. As the microcosm, the inner city represents the extreme example of urbanization found in society. The Church's ability or inability to minister to the man in the inner city will be a significant indication of the Church's ability to minister to all men in society in this age of urbanization.

Harvey Cox supports Webber in this thesis. Cox claims that the two main hallmarks of our era are the rise of an urban civilization and the collapse of traditional religion.⁵ These two phenomena are interdependent. He sees urbanization as the "context" of our

³George W. Webber, God's Colony in Man's World (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), p. 28.

⁴Webber, The Congregation in Mission, p. 28.

⁵Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: Macmillan, 1965), p. 1.

contemporary existence, and secularization, i.e. the collapse of traditional religious other-worldliness and its replacement by a concern for this world and this time, as the "content" of "man's coming of age."⁶

Urbanization, though an elusive term, is seen by Cox to be more a qualitative term rather than a quantitative one. It refers to a ". . .structure of common life in which diversity and disintegration of tradition are paramount. It means a type of impersonality in which functional relationships multiply. It means that a degree of tolerance and anonymity replace traditional moral sanctions and long-term acquaintanceships."⁷ This urbanization of which Cox speaks does not just affect the city but also the suburb and "as Vidich and Bensman have shown in Small Town and Mass Society, high mobility, economic concentration, and mass communications have drawn even rural villages into the web of urbanization."⁸

If these insights concerning the fact of the urbanization of our entire society are correct, churchmen must seriously consider the condition of Protestantism in the microcosm of our society, the inner city. Such a consideration will reveal significant forces which are also operative in the suburbs. Commenting upon the inner city George Webber says, "The predicament of the church in the inner city is intolerable: the emerging theological concensus implies that much of importance in present congregational life is either irrelevant

⁶Ibid., p. 4.

⁷Ibid., p. 4.

⁸Ibid., p. 4.

or detrimental to the missionary purpose of God's people."⁹ Instead of functioning as the servant of all men, the Church is in danger of becoming a souvenir for a few. Ministering primarily to those who gain the most from maintaining the status quo, the Church is in danger of becoming the perpetuator of rural patterns and middle class standards. Webber says, "Where leisure interests and preoccupation with family values are dominant, religious institutions flourish. Where these values are undermined by inner city life, the ministry of the Church simply does not intersect with the central issues in the life of the city man."¹⁰

A proponent of the theory of the urban irrelevance of the Protestant church is Gibson Winter. Writing in The Suburban Captivity of the Churches he differentiates between the urban and suburban sectors of the metropolitan area by defining the urban as the "market place" which embraces the whole spectrum of social and economic differences. The suburb is the residential area which voluntarily strives to insulate itself from the social differences which the interdependent metropolis overlooks. "The open market and the insulated neighborhood represent the two types of metropolitan organization -- impersonal interdependence and insulated, communal solidarity, inclusiveness and exclusiveness, common humanity and

⁹Webber, The Congregation in Mission, p. 13.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 39.

social differences."¹¹ He sees the Church heavily invested in the insulated neighborhoods, unable to minister in the open market. The mission of the Church, in his view, can only be understood in terms of this polarization of the principles of metropolitan organization. This presents Protestantism with a peculiar dilemma, "How can an inclusive message be mediated through an exclusive group, when the principle of exclusiveness is social-class identity rather than a gift of faith which is open to all?"¹²

It is the intent of this chapter, accepting the Webber thesis, to look at the phenomenon of urbanization, to search suburban conditions to see if there is evidence of a parallel phenomenon, and finally to look at the Church in an urbanized world in the hope of discovering directions for relevant ministries.

I. Urbanization

Speaking of the missionary task of the Church today, Webber says that we must first examine the life of the secular world in which the Church lives, ". . . seeking to describe and define the problems which must be of primary concern."¹³ It must enter into dialogue with the world in order to discover the shape of its mission.

¹¹Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches (New York: Macmillan, 1962), p. 25.

¹²Ibid., p. 33.

¹³Webber, The Congregation in Mission, p. 15.

"The church must listen to the world to discover what is happening to man."¹⁴ The message is clear. The Church cannot preach to the world; it must first listen. In a recent visit to the Glide Foundation in San Francisco this writer was reminded of this fact by Louis Durham who said that the Church has forfeited its right to speak to man in the city by involving itself in so much that is irrelevant to the city man's life. The Church must go through a drastic reversal of its image of itself. It must learn to be a listener rather than a proclaimer. Reinhold Niebuhr has written in The Nature and Destiny of Man that nothing is as worthless as an answer to an unasked question. Unfortunately, the Church has been guilty of such worthless activity. Assuming that the human condition dictates the goals of man's pilgrimage, the Church has failed to recognize that, although still on a pilgrimage, contemporary man has chosen new goals. The goals of traditional religious other-worldliness have been ignored in favor of secular, this-worldly ends. The Church must learn to live with questions in order to learn what is happening to men and what men are causing to happen. Webber hopes that "Out of this dialogue (with the world) the congregation (will be) called to enter into its work of mission with a genuine openness to the new forms that integrity requires -- integrity to the world and to the gospel."¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 12.

Many in the suburban church are apt to recoil from openness to the urban scene. There is much in the inner city that threatens security. Yet there is much within the city that promises new life and expanded horizons. Harvey Cox has challenged the rural-oriented church to take a new look at the prospect of urbanization. The cultural enrichment offered by the greater opportunities for interpersonal relationships seems an obvious advantage. Added to this, urbanization offers availability of cultural resources such as drama, literature, music, the graphic arts, etc., improved communications networks, plus the freedom found in the anonymity of urban living.

Urbanization is not without its hazards to the development of human potential, however. We have followed Harvey Cox in affirming that the freedom of anonymity is a positive value. We must be ready to admit at the same time, however, that anonymity can easily lead to depersonalization which is a definite threat to the human dimension of man's existence. Urbanization as a phenomenon is neither good nor bad. It is occurring at both ends of Winter's polarity, the exclusive residential neighborhood and the inclusive marketplace. It is affecting Cox's secular city as well as the secular village. The value of the discussions by Cox and others is their willingness to take urbanization seriously and accept it as opportunity rather than run from it as a threat. Our task as the Church is to ask the questions of this urban context which will illuminate the task which is ours, our mission.

Let us proceed, therefore, to inquire into the condition of

man in an urban context. This writer has chosen to use two sources for this discussion. Both Louis Wirth and George Webber have summarized the manifestations of urbanization, Wirth in an article entitled "Urbanism As A Way of Life," found in Cities and Churches, edited by Robert Lee, and Webber in The Congregation in Mission.

Wirth's article first appeared in The American Journal of Sociology in July of 1938. It is one of the earliest efforts to formulate a theory of urbanism and remains today as a basic statement in the sociological discussion of urbanization. In it he suggests three identifying characteristics of urbanism and discusses the consequences of these characteristics upon persons in the urban milieu. For the purposes of this survey of Wirth's article, we shall list the characteristics and enumerate the consequences in outline form under each.

A. Large Population Aggregate¹⁶

1. Large numbers involve a greater range of individual variation.
2. The greater the number of persons participating in the interaction process the greater is the potential differentiation between them.
3. Greater differences give rise to spatial segregation of individuals according to color, ethnic heritage, economic and social status, etc. The gathering of many groups of diverse origin into one area is marked by the absence of a common folk tradition found in long established rural communities.

¹⁶Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," in Robert Lee, (ed.), Cities and Churches: Readings on the Urban Church (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), p. 22.

4. The possibilities of inhabitants of a community numbering over a few hundred knowing each other are limited directly as the population increases.
5. An increase in numbers involves a changed character of social relationship as compared with a neighborhood situation of a stable community. Individuals are less dependent upon particular persons. Their dependence is confined to a highly fractionalized aspect of the other's round of activity. "This is essentially what is meant by saying that the city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts."¹⁷
6. In secondhand relationships the individual gains a degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups. He is seen to lose the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an "integrated society."
7. The voice of the individual, weakened by the aggregate, seeks expression through representatives of a number of individuals. The voice of a representative is heard with a deference generally in proportion to the number of persons for whom he speaks.

B. Density¹⁸

1. Density tends to produce differentiation and specialization thus reinforcing the natural complexity of a populous social structure.
2. Although physical contacts are close, social contacts are distant. A premium is thus placed upon visual recognition.
3. "The juxtaposition of divergent personalities and modes of life tends to produce a relativistic perspective and a sense of toleration of differences which may be regarded as prerequisites for rationality and which toward the secularization of life."¹⁹
4. "The close living together and working together of individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties

¹⁷Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 27.

foster a spirit of competition, aggrandizement, and mutual exploitation."²⁰ To control this potential anarchy, formal controls are used. This creates a rigid adherence to predictable routines. The clock, the traffic light, and other forms of regimentation become essential to urban life.

5. "Frequent close physical contact, coupled with great social distance, accentuates the reserve of unattached individuals toward one another and, unless compensated for by other opportunities for response, gives rise to loneliness."²¹

C. Heterogeneity²²

1. Social interaction between many individuals of divergent groups tends to break down the rigidity of caste lines and complicates the class structure. This is contrasted to the rigid class structures found in rural societies, societies which Wirth calls "integrated," i.e. each person knows his place and relationship to others in a relatively closed society.

2. Heightened mobility between social groups tends toward the acceptance of instability and insecurity in the world at large as a norm.

3. "No single group has the undivided allegiance of the individual."²³

4. Due to mobility, collective behavior in the urban community is unpredictable.

5. Depersonalization results from the economic forces that determine the life of the city. Goods and services replace personal relationships. Individuals are replaced in the urban mind by categories.

6. Mass appeals and modern propaganda techniques loom large in the political process of the city. Self-government is less real. Pressure groups replace individual self-determination.

²⁰Ibid., p. 28.

²¹Ibid., p. 28.

²²Ibid., p. 28.

²³Ibid., p. 29.

One particular generalization made by Wirth needs to be challenged. He effectively cites the necessity of secondhand relationships in an urban situation by quoting Georg Simmel as follows:

(If) the unceasing external contact of numbers of persons in the city should be met by the same number of inner reactions as in the small town, in which one knows almost every person he meets and to each of whom he has a positive relationship, one would be completely atomized internally and would fall into an unthinkable mental condition.²⁴

He proceeds, however, to suggest the price of such protection is the loss of spontaneous self-expression, morale, and a sense of participating in a society of identity. This seems contradicted by Wirth's own claim of freedom for the individual as he is released from the personal and emotional controls of the intimate group found in the rural community. His claim that all spontaneous self-expression is lost as a consequence of secondhand relationships is an overstatement. Harvey Cox speaks to this issue as he introduces the concept of the "I-You" relationship necessitated by urbanization. He suggests that Buber's "I-Thou" and "I-It" relationships do not adequately encompass the human experience in the urban situation. The problem is that if a relationship cannot be classified as an "I-Thou" it must of necessity be called an "I-It." It is doubtful that Wirth had these categories in mind when he coined the phrase "secondhand relationship," but the same

²⁴Ibid., p. 23.

limiting of alternatives in relationship seems to have been made. Cox suggests that the "I-You" category ". . . would include all those public relationships we so enjoy in the city but which we do not allow to develop into private ones. These contacts can be decidedly human even though they remain somewhat distant."²⁵ The possibility of close personal relationships is not forfeited, however, by the establishment of "I-You" or "secondhand" relationships.

Cox has great hope for the possibilities of the anonymous dimension of urban life.

Despite its pitfalls, the anonymous shape of urban life helps free man from the law. For many people it is a glorious liberation, a deliverance from the saddling traditions and burdensome expectations of town life and an entry into the exciting new possibilities of choice which pervade the secular metropolis.²⁶

Wirth's summary includes some conditions of living that may be considered negative and others that may appear positive. The determination of value of urban manifestations in the final analysis, however, must be made upon evidence derived from the real condition of human beings in the experience of urban living. Our purposes are not so much to determine the desirability or undesirability of urbanization as they are to determine its characteristics in its various ramifications throughout our society. We do this in order to gain a perspective from which the mission of the Church may be determined.

²⁵Cox, op. cit., p. 49.

²⁶Ibid., p. 49.

We turn now from Wirth's theory of urbanization to George Webber's actual experience of the affects of urbanization upon the people of East Harlem. The following are manifestations which he lists in The Congregation in Mission.

1. The size of the city both in area and population has affected ". . . a feeling of helplessness, a general disinterest, that leaves the individual feeling it is useless to participate in public life."²⁷
2. "Density among human beings also increases rapidly the possibility of friction, and given the initial context of poverty and segregation inherent in most city slums, the amount of conflict is inevitably large and on the increase. The human response to such pressure from other people is isolation."²⁸
3. Another aspect of size and density is increased homogeneity among groups, as individuals seek security in the familiar and separate or segregate those who are unfamiliar.
4. Mobility is another factor of our time. "People of the inner city dream of a better life and live always ready to move, but the overwhelming majority will never leave, and gradually dreams become only an added source of misery. . . . the human response is rootlessness, unwillingness to enter into the normal fabric of community life. . . ."²⁹
5. Slum housing is designed and zoned to satisfy only the basic animal needs; the aesthetic aspect of human nature is not served. Even urban renewal projects too often do not aid the slum dweller and occasionally make his plight worse as they force him to another slum due to rents on the new buildings which exceed the ability of the previous slum dwellers to pay. The urban man, faced with the distance of municipal government, the frustrations of his protests, and the lack of encouragement in his environment to express his creative capabilities is left apathetic.
6. Families are rapidly losing their hold upon their members. The traditional role of family loyalty has broken down in the

²⁷Webber, The Congregation in Mission, p. 17.

²⁸Ibid., p. 17.

²⁹Ibid., p. 18.

inner city with independence threatening the very young. The human response is a great insecurity. The search for authority figures lacking in the family context is carried on outside the family. This could be a great opportunity for the Church but it is also replete with dangers, for the young are tempted into delinquency and anti-social behavior.

7. The educational system is a great cause of frustration to the slum child; its goals are based upon middle class suburban value systems. Assumptions of cultural nurture and hopes for the future are unfair to the product of the inner city. The child of the slums finds his school to be another sign that tells him his problems are of little interest to anyone. (By underlining "frustration" it is not assumed that a poor curriculum is the only source of frustration to the slum dweller. This use of standards from an alien culture to measure progress of the people indigenous to the slums is used to suggest a source of frustration for the slum dweller.)
8. In the world of work the opportunities for individual initiative, advancement through hard work, or even employment in any work are incredibly limited. The human response is a feeling of uselessness.
9. Without work, living in a block with three thousand other people who share the same state of poverty, the problem of leisure time is large. Webber sees the human response to this empty time as a sense of emptiness in one's being.
10. Racial tensions characterize the inner city with the human response made on many levels, but the pervasive response noted by Webber is a feeling of unjust rejection.

Helplessness, isolation, separation, rootlessness, apathy, insecurity, frustration, uselessness, emptiness, rejection -- these are the fruits of urban depersonalization. There is no question that a gospel of love demonstrating purpose and hope is eminently relevant to the urban scene. The question is whether or not the Church is relevant, or put another way, is the Church willing to risk the institutional cost of bearing the good news to the people of God in the wilderness?

II. The Suburban Scene

In the minds of some, the very severity of the urban condition contains the seeds of its own rebirth. The dimension of depersonalization is such that urban man is faced with two dramatic alternatives, to give up and deny the worth of his existence or to fight the forces that would deny his worth while reinforcing those forces in urbanization that affirm his humanity. In either case reality must be faced. In this sense the inner city is at the same time the residence of deep depression and genuine hope, depression because the old ways seem unable to cope with this new style of living that threatens personhood, and hope because the new style forces men to change their way of living. And much of the old way needs to be changed. James Wall, writing in Behold magazine, sees grounds for hope in the challenge to human existence posed by urbanization.

There is hope that God's word might again be spoken to the cities, for, in many ways it appears that the cities are being stripped back to the essentials and are in process of asking the frightfully courageous question: "Who are you?" It is by way of contrast rather than criticism that I would point out that the veneer of the non-city culture continues to be so substantial that its inhabitants find it almost impossible to ask the question, "Who are you?"³⁰

The title of Wall's article reveals the center of his thought, "Hope in the City--The Secondhand Veneer is Wearing Thin." "Secondhand Veneer" is not to be confused with Wirth's phrase, "secondhand

³⁰James M. Wall, "Hope in the City--The Secondhand Veneer is Wearing Thin," Behold Magazine (April, 1962).

relationship,"however. Wirth is speaking of social distance resulting from urbanization while Wall is speaking of an insulation from reality that urbanization tends to strip away. The essence of hope in urbanization is found in its ability to force man to take stock of himself and those qualities that are uniquely his as the result of his being a human being as opposed to a machine, a Republican, a poor man, a Protestant, etc. The insulation from reality that pervades the non-city culture, Wall points out, is worn thin in the city. Once again, the mark of hope in the city is the condition that rises from despair as well as freedom that allows a man to ask of himself and others, "Who are you, really?" While this is hopeful for the city, Wall is pessimistic about the suburb. The non-city culture is marked by ". . .the determination to live safely so that spiritual pain can be avoided. It is the conspiracy of togetherness whereby all agree that for the good of all, everyone should have his experience at secondhand. It is a denial of authenticity. . . ." ³¹ The suburban social relationship ". . .partakes of enough reality to convince us it is real, yet it remains secondhand, and carefully insulates the participant from real involvement. . . .like the Big Brother of 1984, suburban culture watches every move to see that all men comply with the rush from reality." ³² Few men risk confronting another with the question, "Who are you?"

³¹Ibid., p. 2.

³²Ibid., p. 3.

Wall, in stating a generalization, risks misrepresenting particulars. However, the generalization is supported by many other critics of the suburban society. Perhaps the most articulate critic of suburbia in general and the suburban Protestant church in particular is Gibson Winter. Before turning to Winter for an understanding of his analysis of the suburban scene, however, let us consider a point of view critical of Winter and Wall, that of Frederick A. Shippey.

Shippey, writing in his book, Protestantism in Suburban Life, suggests that suburbia is not the threat to reality recognition that Wall sees it to be. On the contrary, he calls suburbia a "Christian symbol." With what appears to be an anti-urban bias he calls suburbia the place where evil and good are locked in mortal combat. "God and man, however, newly teamed together in living relationship can accomplish amazing things. To the victor belongs the suburbs."³³

Shippey suggests four "perspectives" which "lend support to the view of suburbia as a Christian symbol." The first sees suburbia as a "Jabbok." He refers to the Genesis story of Jacob wrestling with Yahweh. (Genesis 32:22-32) Jabbok was the location of that struggle. "Today, in a profound religious sense, the suburb is the scene of a mighty struggle between God and man." (Shippey has altered his imagery and now has God and man opposing each other rather than being "newly teamed.")

³³Frederick A. Shippey, Protestantism in Suburban Life, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), pp. 36-37.

God reminds man of his true nature and destiny but man is prone to pursue worldly values. Suburbia is the place where the best in Christianity encounters the best in modern secular life. A mighty conflict ensues. Beneficial outcome depends upon man's willingness to prolong the struggle until he procures a blessing, until he gets a new name, until he sees God face to face and discovers how his life can be preserved. This struggle discloses that the suburbanite is not spiritually dead. Very much alive, he throws himself into the struggle in which the fundamental issues of life are being settled. This is the Christian meaning of Jabbok. Suburbia is a place where man and God meet in a struggle for mastery.³⁴

There are two bases for argument with this statement. The first is Shippey's assumption that suburban Christianity is the possessor of what is "best" in Christianity. The second is his assumption that the "fundamental issues of life" are being settled in suburbia. We shall deal more specifically with objections to these assumptions when we discuss Gibson Winter's position below. Let it suffice for now to say that Shippey has failed to come to terms with the two major "hallmarks of our era" suggested by Harvey Cox, urbanization and secularization. He has made the mistake of assuming that because the Protestant church is centered in suburbia it must represent the "best" in Christianity without asking what the "best" in Christianity is in our secular age. By the same line of reasoning that assumes numbers indicate vitality, Shippey deduces that the flood of persons moving to the suburbs indicates that "fundamental issues" are in the process of being settled there. He does not discuss the possibility that instead of running to the

³⁴Ibid., p. 37.

suburb to deal with "fundamental issues" suburban dwellers may have fled to the suburb to escape the "fundamental issues."

The second perspective that Shippey sites as support of the claim that suburbia is a "Christian symbol" is that "suburbia tests faith's relevance in the modern world."³⁵ By this he means that the great accumulation of the world's goods that characterizes America is stores in suburbia. Recognizing the ultimate claim of faith upon man, regardless of his other obligations, Shippey suggests that how modern man responds to the need of the world in relationship to his affluence will be determined in suburbia. He says, "If faith works here (suburbia) it probably can work elsewhere in the modern world."³⁶

As far as he goes, Shippey has his finger upon a significant point regarding the challenge of this age to suburban man. By limiting his view of society to the suburb, however, the perspective he seeks is distorted. Suburban man is challenged to stewardship but he will never understand the challenge if he remains in his suburb. Suburban man is sadly misled if he believes that the fundamental issues of our day will come to him in the suburb. He must broaden his perspective and recognize the needy of the inner city, the destitution of agricultural workers, the poverty of the multitudes in foreign lands. The church that contents itself to remain anchored in the suburb and "minister" to the needs of those living about it fails the challenge of our faith that all men shall be one and servants of each other.

³⁵Ibid., p. 37.

³⁶Ibid., p. 38.

The third perspective is that "suburbia weighs Christianity's stewardship principle."³⁷ Following the above discussion, Shippey refers to the wealth of suburbia and cites statistics that show only thirteen cents out of every dollar received by suburban Protestant churches go beyond their walls for benevolence spending. He asks the correct question, ". . .is thirteen cents enough?" but then ducks the issue by claiming, without supporting evidence, that ". . .indications suggest that (the suburban church goer) can and will . . . become a good steward."

His fourth and final statement supporting suburbia as a "Christian symbol" for our day is that ". . .suburbia symbolizes the church's unfinished task in the world."³⁸ In a gross simplification that completely overlooks the issue of the secular challenge to the Church, Shippey makes reference to the great population movement into the suburbs and calls for more churches and more effective ministry. He wants more young people trained in the faith, more adults reached, church members to take their faith more seriously, and the faithful renewed and fortified from day to day. These are certainly not undesirable ends but the central question of how is left untouched. And prior to the how, the Church must understand the condition of existence in which it finds itself. Shippey seems willing to hold up the suburb and the suburban church as answers to the dilemma of contemporary existence. He does not seem willing to ask the basic

³⁷Ibid., p. 38.

³⁸Ibid., p. 39.

question about what the dilemma of contemporary existence is. For one who asks these questions we turn now to Gibson Winter.

We have previously made reference to Winter's definition of the inclusive and exclusive patterns of the market place and the residential sections of our society. Expanding this discussion we note that Winter refers to the entire urbanized society as the "metropolis." The metropolis is characterized by two fundamental principles: interdependence, which is characterized by industries, activities, jobs, and services, (this is an urban phenomenon and includes impersonality as its distinctive feature) and communal isolation, which is characterized by ". . . segregated communities where skin color, style of life, manners, and religious ties create autonomous ghettos of people from similar occupational and ethnic background."³⁹ In the market place, where interdependence is characteristic, a man is not asked who he is but what can he do. The residential sector, characterized by communal isolation, offers a man the opportunity to seek his own identity, in Winter's analysis, and the homogeneous neighborhoods result. The advantage of the impersonality of the market place is that barriers that tend to exclude persons in residential situations are broken down. However, Winter correctly points out that men need to ". . . be evaluated for who they are as well as what they can do; they have to be as well

³⁹Winter, op. cit., p. 22.

as do."⁴⁰ Winter recognizes human value in both the city and the suburban sectors of our society. To strive for wholeness man needs both the freedom of the urban scene and the stability offered by the residential scene. There is a real danger to wholeness, however, if freedom is dominated by stability or vice versa. The problem Winter addresses himself to primarily is the heavy investment of the Protestant church in the residential sector and its rapid evacuation of the inner city areas. His emphasis becomes the need of inclusive values to correct the imbalance of exclusive stability.

It is paradoxical that the affects of urbanization that chased many people into the suburbs, and the Church after them, are found in the suburbs in advanced stages. As Winter notes, the effects of urbanization are essentially found in human relationships and not in dilapidated buildings or torn-up streets. These marks are amply evident in the suburbs, that is, ". . .the breakdown of human community before it becomes a physical problem; when women and men no longer care, no longer feel that they belong. . . ."⁴¹ It is interesting to note that the listing of the affects of urbanization that Winter finds in the suburbs closely parallels the affects of urbanization found by Webber in Harlem. This tends to substantiate Webber's contention that the inner city is a microcosm of urbanization. For example, Winter lists as suburbia's central characteristic its exclusiveness, its escape into isolation. "Suburbia is the image

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 24.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 9.

escape from public responsibility and retirement into the privacy of one's own garden."⁴² Isolation is a greater danger to the suburbs than to the city, however, for one is more likely to succeed in isolating himself from reality in the suburb.

Apathy and insecurity are found in what Winter labels as the "mass amnesia" of suburbia, ". . .a widespread and morbid forgetfulness by which men and women shut out the world of human reality and even the deeper aspects of their own experience."⁴³ Various phases of mass amnesia are found in suburbia, for example, "social amnesia." "Suburbia aims at a dead level of sameness which erases any threat of invidious comparison and any uneasiness that one is not doing as well as his neighbor. This external conformity makes for shallow association that loses all the richness of the complex human reality."⁴⁴

A loss of meaning in work and subsequent uselessness pervades suburbia. "The suburban image of fulfillment also discloses an occupational amnesia -- a flight from any reminders of the productive struggle. Competition on the ladder of success is erased from the suburban screen."⁴⁵ The fruits of competition are eagerly and amply displayed but the battle wounds, both financial and psychological, are kept out of sight as if they did not exist. This is reflected in great hostility toward work, even morbid rejection of the productive

⁴²Gibson Winter, The New Creation As Metropolis (New York: Macmillan, 1963), p. 134.

⁴³Ibid., p. 137.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 137.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 138.

function.

Neither men nor women are really at home in suburbia, according to Winter. The men flee to the city which is their domain and the women seek escape in enervating activities and sordid affairs. These same persons find leisure time as great a threat as work time, for the problem is not one of the nature of activity but the purpose of existence.⁴⁶

"Political amnesia" is the most damaging and corrupting aspect of the suburban degeneration of the American dream.

In this multiplicity of satellite communities we find men and women playing at small-town politics, regretting that national elections do not reflect their conservative hopes, and pretending that they are being politically responsible. Meanwhile, these small-town politicians work to gain tax advantages by placing small industries within their tax areas, and they maintain low costs for their schools by zoning against families who might bring large numbers of children into their communities. These are the politicoes who scorn metropolitan politics as corrupt; these are the public-spirited citizenry who rail against public aid and vote down relief funds which would provide food for underprivileged children. In suburbia the American dream, the hope of fulfillment, degenerates into a conspiracy of public irresponsibility, and all of this is defended in the name of the private values of personal intimacy, care of children, and American individualism.⁴⁷

Helplessness, isolation, separation, rootlessness, apathy, insecurity, frustration, uselessness, emptiness, rejection -- these are the fruits of urban depersonalization and they are all found in the suburbs.

⁴⁶For an adequate discussion of the leisure time revolution and its implications for the Church see Robert Lee, Religion and Leisure in America (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), p. 271.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 139.

III. The Church In An Urbanized World

James Wall sees hope in the fact that the layer of veneer of secondhand experience that insulates our society is being eroded by advanced urbanization as found in the cities. "When the leap from inauthenticity to authentic existence is undertaken, the first step involves the question, 'I'm nobody! Who are you?' It is this question that the city dweller asks. It is to this question that grace can speak."⁴⁸ The suburbanite is too affluent to easily accept the realization that in spite of all he has, he is "a nobody." Perhaps we must be patient and wait for the truth of man's emptiness to break through the facade of "the good life." We, the Church, cannot afford to be patient with our own residential identification, however. For when the suburban man wakes up to the fact of urbanization and is forced to confront himself in his emptiness he will be disgusted with the agents of his society that allowed him to play his game of escape. This will not happen all at once, but it has begun in the city. The empty pews in the downtown churches on Sunday mornings are evidence of the lack of relevance that traditional worship has for the urban dweller. Another indication of this irrelevance is the preponderance of older persons who sit in the few pews that are occupied. The Church as it was known in the rural areas of a younger America no longer finds itself needed in the lives of

⁴⁸Wall, op. cit., p. 4.

the vast majority of today's urban inhabitants. It has been this writer's experience that this same irrelevance is dawning upon the youth of our suburban society. We shall deal with this in more detail in a later chapter.

There will be a place for the exclusive church for years to come, however, for many will continue their search for an alternative to reality. For the clergyman who seeks security in the guise of pietism there will be many suburban pulpits available from which he may preach principles of the faith that do not threaten the status quo. Other ministers who seek to speak to their suburban parishioners concerning the relevance of the faith to the real conditions of our day will feel the not so subtle pressures from vocal constituents who would prefer that their church and its minister conform with the suburban amnesia.

Leroy Davis speaks to the pressure upon social action-minded clergy from status quo-minded laity.

Given the rather basic split between clergy and laity, together with the emerging political convictions that stand in opposition to the gospel, the future of the church may be clouded by a fundamental schism. To bury the problem under the niceties of church life or to ascribe it to the heat of political contests is only to deny the signs of a new reformation. It is possible that before long the church may take on a whole new image. It may find itself split between those who have a well established Christian social consciousness -- a group which includes the majority of the clergy -- and those seeking to maintain their singular advantageous positions in life. What the church does and has to say concerning the needs of mankind will be an important factor in determining its future.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Leroy Davis, "The Clergy Laity Schism," The Christian Century LXXI, No. 48 (November 25, 1964), pp.1455-1456.

We must agree with James Wall when he calls for the Church to rid itself of its investment in what perpetuates the veneer of our culture and work toward the courage to face reality so that the Church might again become a means of God's grace.

This can happen in the suburb as well as in the city, but where the minds and hands of men are so encrusted in the veneer, so engaged in the conspiracy to promulgate secondhand living, it is not likely to happen. Where the veneer wears thin, where there is utter loneliness, and therefore no need for conspiracy, there the church may again answer the cry, 'Who am I?' speaking the Word. . . 'You are mine!'"⁵⁰

What is the task of ministry, therefore, if Wall is correct and man must acknowledge loneliness before he can hear the Word of grace? It may be that the Church functioning as comforter may be diametrically opposed to the work of God; for if God is at work in the forces of urbanization, and this writer believes that He is, then calling men to face their condition of emptiness may be the loving act of God's people for their society. Winter concurs with this insight, "A society come of age yearns for a religious refuge that it cannot take seriously, but it has desperate need of a ministry that illuminates its responsibility in terms that are inescapably serious."⁵¹ It is immediately obvious that a relevant ministry is not necessarily a popular one. This will be particularly true in the suburbs. We are confronted once again with a challenge to our faith, in this instance to risk losing our institutional life for the sake of persons caught up in a secular society who could not

⁵⁰Wall, op. cit., p. 4.

⁵¹Gibson Winter, "The New Christendom in the Metropolis," Christianity and Crisis XXII (November 26, 1962), pp. 206-211.

care less whether the Church lives or dies.

Winter sees the task of the Church today as being the servant of the world. The form of ministry held up to the Church if it chooses to function in an urbanized society is servanthood. If it prefers to ignore urbanization and continues to pattern its life after rural experience its form will be pietism.

Pietism reflects a preoccupation with individual sentiments and private salvation. These themes merely reinforce irresponsibility among religious people. Servanthood, on the other hand, reflects the new role of Christianity in a world come of age -- an apostolate of laymen who strive to discern the ultimate meanings and claims that are being disclosed in the historical struggles of our time.⁵²

For Winter, the criterion for responsible churchmanship is ministry, not survival.

Where Winter defines the form of the Church as servanthood, Webber chooses to call it mission. The Church, for Webber, must accept the fact that it is in mission wherever it exists in today's world. The title of his first book communicates his understanding of the relationship of the Church to the world today, God's Colony In Man's World. Webber calls for dialogue with the world while Winter emphasizes a variation in approach when he says, "The Christian style of life is not the means to engagement in the world but the consequence of a ministry in the world."⁵³ Webber seeks God in the Church and seeks to serve Him in the world. He calls for integrity to the world and to the gospel. For Winter there is no such distinction, integrity to the world is integrity to the gospel.

⁵²Ibid., p. 207. ⁵³Webber, God's Colony in Man's World, p.40.

While the churches ". . . would like to possess an authenticity apart from their particular engagement with man and his world. . . there is no authentic church apart from this engagement."⁵⁴ Webber focuses upon the essential question of which both men are aware with this statement.

The search for new forms is the effort to find God's way for our time with which to confront men with Jesus Christ in such a manner that a genuine decision is forced upon him -- either to accept Him or reject Him. Thus the test of new forms is their power to contain the gospel, to witness to and demonstrate to a suspicious, hostile, or apathetic world that Jesus Christ is both Lord and Savior.⁵⁵

Recognizing the manifestations of urbanization, the human dimensions added to life in the market place (freedom) and in the residential area (security), the severe threat to the life of the Church resulting from its suburban identification, we concur with Winter and Webber that renewal must take place in the life of the Church. We further affirm that the renewal of the Church is not so that the Church may continue to live but rather for the life of the world. This is not to say that God's ultimate victory in history depends upon the success or failure of the Church. It is to say that the Church has been and can continue to be "the body of Christ," an agent for redemption in the world and, as such, responsible to proclaim the Word of God to mankind. Humanity will suffer greatly if the Church fails its task and God brings forth another agent of reconciliation in its place. Considering the history of the Christian

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 143. ⁵⁵Webber, God's Colony In Man's World, p. 40.

Church since Christ, we have reason to hope that God will not let His Church die, however. Affirmed by that hope, we must seek to discover His will for His Church in this day. It is obvious to this writer that past styles of church life are not adequate to the challenge of our time. Renewal is in order if God and mankind would be served.

J. C. Hoekendijk, in his book, The Church Inside Out, makes an excellent statement to the whole Church about the challenge and method of renewal. For our purposes two particular comments aid us at this point. The first is that renewal may mean just what the word implies, to make new.

When we casually use this big word "renewal," we usually think of little more than some new furnishings and a few revisions in the inner architectural structure -- a little shifting to the left and a little modernizing to the right. It is as if we have come to a mutual agreement that renewal may never amount to a radical change: to make different that which exists. The hope now is that as we seek and search and think together, we might overcome the fear that keeps us from a radical change. Therefore, there is expectation that something is going to happen, something that has been called the "liberating of our liberty," so that as free persons we shall engage in something that is truly new.⁵⁶

The second point that Hoekendijk makes is that there is no established style or form by which renewal will come about. In other words, even in the area of its own identity the Church cannot presume to have the answer but must first live with questions, questions it asks itself and questions that it is being asked by the world. In the process of its self-emptying, in the experience of its mission, the

⁵⁶J. C. Hoekendijk, The Church Inside Out (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 69-70.

form of the Church necessary to fulfill the will of God and thus itself will be discovered. A Church living with great expectation and openness will be the Church of Jesus Christ.

The conviction that the Church is involved in a new reformation and must be renewed to fulfill its calling is a prime motivation for the writing of this paper. Our project is to test a specific method of attitude change, seeking to overcome the isolation of the people of the suburban church so that they might become open to the task of being an inclusive community of faith in an exclusive society. The author has chosen to draw upon insights provided by the discipline of social psychology so that he might better understand how and why persons develop and change their attitudes toward themselves, others, and the Church. Before discussing the project of exposure undertaken, we shall turn first to a brief discussion of some insights from social psychology that gave direction and support to our understanding of the church in suburbia and the method of attitude change chosen.

CHAPTER III

THE SEARCH FOR IDENTITY IN THE SUBURBS

We have examined a theory of the development of urbanization within our society that sees advanced stages of urbanization in the centers of the urban complex called the inner cities, but at the same time, genuine manifestations of this same phenomenon throughout society, even into the rural hamlets. We have seen two distinct reactions to urbanization, the urban and the suburban, or classified another way, the inclusive and the exclusive. (The terms urban and suburban have sociological meanings beyond the meaning we imply here. For our purposes we use the terms to focus our attention upon an attitude toward urbanization originating generally from these sociological areas.) Recognizing these reactions, the Protestant church, heavily invested in the exclusive suburb, is to be inclusive, that is, open to persons of various social, racial, sexual, and economic differences without using sameness as the basic criterion of value.

The suburb may be defined sociologically as ". . .the peripheral portions of a city or town, the outlying regions adjacent to a city, usually economically dependent upon the city but composed of independent political units."¹ The church in the suburb is composed of persons who are the originators and products of exclusive reactions

¹Henry Pratt Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), p. 311.

to urbanization. The dilemma for the Protestant church, expressed by Gibson Winter, is to find a style of life that proclaims the gospel of Jesus Christ, which is by its nature inclusive. Renewal in the suburbs means a reshaping, radical if necessary, of the suburban church so that, as a fellowship, it may be genuinely inclusive, and as a force in society, it may support openness to reality proclaiming the grace of God's redemption through its life of real ministry to real issues in the real world.

It is the contention of this paper that the church will find its mission in the reality exposed by urbanization. The exclusiveness of the suburb covers up this reality and the inclusiveness of the city exposes it. Yet there is reality in the suburb. The difficulty in isolation is to gain a perspective by which one can differentiate between reality and illusion. The task is not for the suburbs to become cities but rather for the people living in the cities and the people living in the suburbs to become aware and sensitive to the reality of each other. Within this awareness are found the seeds of reconciliation. Working toward such an awareness is essentially a Christian task and one to which this writer believes the Church is called. This chapter is an attempt to define the challenge and explore the possibility that a method of exposure and interaction might be an effective technique in working toward such awareness.

The hoped for result of exposure is attitude change, changing from an exclusive attitude to an inclusive attitude. In this chapter

we shall explore the definition of an attitude, seek an understanding of attitude formation with particular interest in group dynamics, and draw some conclusions for the work of the suburban church.

Being convinced that many scholastic disciplines can and should contribute to the Church's understanding of itself, the world, and its task of mission in the world, we turn to social psychology for insight and guidance.

I. Definitions of Attitudes

The attitudes with which we concern ourselves in this paper are called social attitudes. But not all of a person's attitudes are social. Sherif and Sherif clarify this for us as they describe non-social attitudes as those which a person forms in relation to objects or things that are not created or supported by man or man's design. For example, we may develop a special liking for a mountain view, or a type of food, or a particular bird. Although we are not free of the influence of other opinions in many of these attitudes, we can conceive of an attitude that is formed due to a special event unique to an individual's experience or his motives and individualities.² A social attitude is formed ". . . in relation to situations, persons, or groups with which the individual comes into contact in the course of his development. Once formed, they determine that the individual

²Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), p. 490.

react in a characteristic way to these or related situations, persons, or groups."³ Sherif and Sherif note that, "Forming an attitude toward a group, an institution, a social issue is not an idle matter. It means one is no longer neutral to them; they are value laden for him in a positive or negative way. An attitude determines a certain expectation, standard, or goal, as the case may be."⁴ An attitude is thus equated to a motive. It sets persons for or against things. It determines the end sought in an individual's relationships.

A social attitude, then, is one that is formed in relation to social stimulus situations. Sherif and Sherif define such situations as ". . . persons, groups, and the products of human interaction-material and nonmaterial, i.e., the man-made environment of things, technological devices, and values or norms. Attitudes formed in relation to these constitute the main body of what is socialized in man."⁵

The Sherifs go on to describe an attitude more specifically.

1. "Attitudes are not innate."⁶ By this they mean that whereas hunger is innate to a person, a particular preference for abalone is an attitude. Such an attitude is therefore dependent upon learning rather than instinctual need. An illustration of a group norm affecting an attitude of eating preference would be the French relish for snails or the Jewish abhorrence of pork.
2. "Attitudes are more or less lasting."⁷ By this they mean that attitudes are literally more or less lasting but not everlasting. They are changeable under given conditions and influences.

³Ibid., p. 490.

⁴Ibid., p. 489.

⁵Ibid., p. 490.

⁶Ibid., p. 494.

⁷Ibid., p. 494.

3. "Attitudes always imply a subject-object relationship."⁸ Attitudes are not formed from nothing but rather result from a specific referent, be it a person, group, object, issue, or event.
4. "The referent of an attitude may encompass a small or large number of items."⁹ This is obvious in racial prejudice or gang loyalties and rivalries. "This implies the process of generalization, which is the essential process of concept formation."¹⁰
5. "Attitudes have motivational-affective properties."¹¹ This differentiates attitudes from learned behavior such as beginning to shave from one's left side burn every morning. Attitudes are goal directed in either a positive or negative direction.
6. The above characteristics of attitudes apply equally to social or non social attitudes. All attitudes are similar in their general principles of formation and functioning. The difference is the nature of the forces forming attitudes, whether they are social stimulus situations or nonsocial.

One of the outstanding contributions made by the Sherifs to the understanding of attitude formation and change is their understanding of the affects of reference groups upon individuals. Their major work in this area is the Robber's Cave experiment to which we will return later in this chapter. The conclusion resulting from their work in this area is that ". . . man's socialization is revealed mainly in his attitudes formed in relation to the values or norms of his reference group or groups."¹² Each group establishes its own norm of acceptable behavior. The "good" group member is the one who conforms to that norm.

⁸Ibid., p. 494.

⁹Ibid., p. 495.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 495.

¹¹Ibid., p. 491.

¹²Ibid., p. 495.

Good group membership may not be healthy for the individual, however, if the group norm he adheres to is not adequate to adjust to change. The Church needs to understand this. The Sherifs say, "Except in times of rapid social transition, except in turning points in the history of groups and societies, social values or norms are upheld and transmitted to new members as imperative ingredients of their upbringing, education, and other processes of socialization."¹³ This being true, the church is called upon to recognize the challenge that exists to its influence as a reference group in a time of change such as we are now experiencing, particularly if the Church is content to rest upon reverence for tradition. In a time of change tradition becomes a liability in the eyes of those concerned with finding new ways to deal with new conditions. This is not to deny the validity of the gospel; it is to call attention to our need to demonstrate the relevance of the gospel for today to the young adults and youth of our time.

Each book found discussing social psychology deals with and defines attitudes. The Sherif's treatment is adequate for basic understanding, however we might better comprehend the full meaning of the term as used in the field if we look briefly at the definitions provided by other writers. For example, Kimball Young, in his book Social Psychology, summarizes his discussion of an attitude by saying, ". . .an attitude may be defined as a learned and more or less

¹³Ibid., p. 496.

generalized and affective tendency or predisposition to respond in a rather persistent and characteristic manner, usually positively or negatively in reference to some situation, idea, value, material object or class of objects, or person or group of persons."¹⁴ Hartley and Hartley, in their book, Fundamentals of Social Psychology, borrow a definition by Gordon Allport of an attitude as ". . .a mental and neutral state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related."¹⁵ They go on to expand the definition by stating that it is a product of experience that enters into each new experience and is thus subject to change yet it is dynamic in experience and exerts a directive influence upon each experience.¹⁶

One final word of definition needs to be said before we begin to discuss attitude formation and change. Attitudes are not observable but are inferred from the observation of consistencies in the behavior of individuals. The Sherif's put it this way, "An attitude is revealed and measured through a characteristic mode of behavior, verbal and nonverbal."¹⁷ Attitudes develop through experience and are partially revealed in subsequent behavior. We turn now to seek

¹⁴Kimball Young, Social Psychology (New York: Appelton-Century-Crofts, 1944), p. 122.

¹⁵Eugene L. Hartley and Ruth E. Hartley, Fundamentals of Social Psychology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), p. 653.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 653-654. ¹⁷Sherif, op. cit., p. 539.

an understanding of how experience forms attitudes.

II. How Attitudes Are Related to Perception

An attitude relies upon an individual's perception of reality to provide the awareness to which it responds. Attitudes also affect an individual's perception, tending to prejudge negatively an experience anticipated to be unpleasant and tending to be open, or prejudiced positively toward an expected pleasant experience. It becomes important to our study, therefore, to develop a theory of perception. We have selected George A. Kelly's theory of personal constructs as the basis for our discussion and subsequent conclusions. Kelly's theory of personal constructs evolves from a philosophical position which he summarized in the introduction to his study in volume one of The Psychology of Personal Constructs. We need to consider what Kelly calls his "philosophical roots" in order to properly understand the theory which evolves from them.

Philosophical roots

Kelly suggests that man can best be understood by viewing him from two perspectives in time, a perspective of centuries and a perspective of the immediate moment. Regarding the second, Kelly insists upon the reality of an individual's immediate perception of an experience. The experience is real and a man's perception is real but the two do not have to necessarily coincide. A man may be in error in his understanding of a social experience, but his misunderstanding is real nevertheless.

The center of Kelly's theory is his understanding of man's structuring of his immediate perceptions. He suggests that man categorizes experience in constructs based upon past experience. These constructs have definite limits within which reality is understood. Constructs resemble semantic differential scales except that Kelly does not impose the tester's constructs upon the subject being tested. For example, semantic differential categories, or constructs, are given on a test as "good-bad," "honest-dishonest," "sharp-dull," etc. Kelly theorizes that individuals categorize perceptions into their own constructs limited on either side by their uniquely positive and negative understanding of a perceived reality. A reality is known by that which it resembles and by that which it least resembles. All individual perceptions, which are real but not necessarily accurate, are categorized, or channeled as Kelly calls it, by two previously experienced realities, one most similar and one dissimilar. These constructs become fixed in an individual's mind. Realities are measured by constructs much as one would measure an airplane part by a templet. We shall return to a discussion of these templets soon. We need to return to the philosophical roots for a basis of understanding Kelly's theory.

Kelly's other perspective of man is over the centuries. This is a hopeful view. He suggests that by looking at the history of man we are forced to ". . . turn our attention toward those factors appearing to account for his progress rather than those betraying

his impulse."¹⁸ He sees man as an autonomous being who is capable of selecting patterns of behavior that in the long run balance out in his favor. Seeing man in the perspective of history, he appears to Kelly as a scientist in that he seeks to predict and control his experience. Kelly dismisses the concept that only men set apart and trained are scientists and claims instead that all men are basically scientists. ". . .like the reformists who insisted that every man is his own priest, every man is, in his own particular way, a scientist."¹⁹

Now what would happen if we were to reopen the question of human motivation and use our long-range view of man to infer just what it is that sets the course of his endeavor? Would we see his centuries progress in terms of appetites, tissue needs, or sex impulses? Or might he, in this perspective, show a massive drift of another sort? Might not the individual man, each in his own personal way, assume more of the stature of a scientist, ever seeking to predict and control the course of events with which he is involved? Would he not have his theories, test his hypothesis, and weight his experimental evidence? And, if so, might not the differences between personal viewpoints of different men correspond to the differences between the theoretical points of different scientists?²⁰

Man as scientist moves through life perceiving and sorting his perceptions on the basis of prior convictions. All thinking, therefore, is the product of previous experience applied to present experience. This experience occurs within a universe which is real and which is gradually becoming known by man as he conceives it, tests his conception, and rejects or accepts it as accurate or

¹⁸George A. Kelly, The Psychology of Personal Constructs (New York: Norton, 1955), p. 4.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 5.

²⁰Ibid., p. 5.

misleading in relationship to the reality of the environment as proven in previous and present experiences.

One further fact about our universe which is basic to Kelly's philosophical roots is that the universe is integral. "By that we mean that it functions as a single unit with all its imaginable parts having an exact relationship to one another. . . .time provides the ultimate bond in all relationships."²¹ This universe can be measured along a dimension of time. By this he means that the universe is constantly changing, something is always going on, but it is a unity. Every experience in time is in relationship to every other experience.

Within this universe Kelly describes life as the ability to bring one's self around to represent another part of one's environment and respond to it. This response is the product of one being able to be aware of his environment and subsequently alter that awareness as the environment changes or is more accurately perceived. Indeed, he can alter the environment if it does not suit him. Life, then, is possessed of the ability to change along the horizontal line of time and this change is a reaction to one representation of environment deemed unfavorable, leading to the creation of another deemed more favorable.²²

Let us look again then at the concept of personal constructs, given this understanding of man as scientist in time.

²¹Ibid., p. 5.

²²Ibid., p. 8.

Man looks at his world through transparent patterns or templates which he creates and then attempts to fit over the realities of which the world is composed. The fit is not always good. Yet without such appterns the world appears to be such an undifferentiated homogeneity that man is unable to make any sense out of it. Even a poor fit is more helpful to him than nothing at all.²³

These patterns or templates are man's constructs. Kelly suggests that man uses constructs to comprehend reality in order to chart a course of behavior.

Man formulates constructs in order that he can exert some control over his environment. They aid him in his predictive task. As mentioned earlier, however, constructs are subject to revision based upon a new experience of environment that is not adequately encompassed by prior constructs. Kelly calls this revision, and sometimes replacement, of constructs, "constructive alternativism." This implies that man possesses the ability to be flexible in his perception. Kelly sees the problem for man as his becoming inflexible in his perception.

One further point needs to be made before we consider the theory that has grown from the creative thought built upon these philosophical roots. "Since determinism characterizes the control that a construct exercises over its subordinate elements, freedom characterizes its independence of these elements. Determinism and freedom are then inseparable, for that which determines another is, by the same token, free of the other."²⁴ Kelly sees freedom and

²³Ibid., p. 9.

²⁴Ibid., p. 21.

determinism as opposite sides of the same coin, two aspects of the same relationship.

Kelly's theory is weak when he discusses man's free will. He acknowledges two areas of free will for man, that referred to above, the freedom over subordinate elements of constructs, and the freedom of an individual to deal with elements or experience that fall beyond the purview of one's constructs. The determinism that is on the opposite side of the coin for this latter freedom is seen in what he has called the integral universe. He understands this aspect of freedom and universal determinism, or "cosmic connectedness," as relatively unimportant for his study. And yet it is specifically in this area, man's ability to transcend his prior constructs and reform or create new constructs, that Kelly holds his hope for man's "emancipation" from prior bias and misunderstandings. The question we would put to Kelly is from what source does man derive the conceptions that would allow him to recognize the possibility of alternatives that represent a more adequate expression of his humanity and individuality? He has called our attention to a perspective of history from which he recognizes a movement which he labels progress. The long view of time would suggest the existence of "Cosmic constructs" which in some way, not understood nor explained by Kelly, are available to man. Kelly's concern and discussion, however, deal with man's personal conception of the immediate stream of events upon which he is borne. Nevertheless, the transcendent dimension is present and acknowledged by Kelly as he proceeds to

develop his case and is found in this statement which closes out his presentation of the philosophical roots.

Ultimately a man sets the measure of his own freedom and his own bondage by the level at which he chooses to establish his convictions. The man who orders his life in terms of many special and inflexible convictions about temporary matters makes himself the victim of circumstances. Each little prior conviction that is not open to review is a hostage he gives to fortune; it determines whether the events of tomorrow will bring happiness or misery. The man whose prior convictions encompass a broad perspective, and are cast in terms of principles rather than rules, has a much better chance of discovering those alternatives which will lead eventually to his emancipation.²⁵

Kelly does not discuss what forces allow a man to develop prior convictions encompassing broad perspectives as opposed to convictions based upon rules. For the purposes of Kelly's discussion of personal constructs, however, acknowledgement of these forces is all that is necessary. He seeks to evaluate the given rather than determine its source. In this task he is the scientist developing theories to explain the tangible and measurable aspects of human experience. Recognizing its area of concern, Kelly's theory is very helpful to us in our quest for understanding the development of attitudes.

Kelly does not discuss consciousness or subconsciousness, as such, which simplifies his discussion. As a theory of human perception and decision, however, the concept of personal constructs seems insightful and valuable to our discussion of attitude formation. As Kelly points out:

²⁵Ibid., p. 22.

Any psychological system is likely to have a limited range of convenience. In fact, psychological systems may, for some time to come, have to get along with more limited ranges of convenience than psychologists would like. The system or theory which we are about to expound and explore has a limited range of convenience, its range being restricted, as far as we can see at this moment, to human personality and, more particularly, to problems of personal relationships.²⁶

Kelly's fundamental postulate

A single statement which has been developed by Kelly forms the fundamental postulate for the entire psychology of personal constructs. this statement is, "A person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he anticipates events."²⁷ Although we have been discussing this theory's roots up to this point, we need to look at the definition of terms which Kelly provides to more clearly understand the statement.

Person: ". . . indicates the substance with which we are primarily concerned. Our first consideration is the individual person rather than any part of the person, any group of persons, or any particular process manifested in the person's behavior."²⁸

Process: ". . . the person is not an object which is temporarily in a moving state but is himself a form of motion."²⁹

Psychologically: ". . . when we use the term . . . we mean that we are conceptualizing processes in a psychological manner, not that the processes are psychological rather than something else."³⁰

Channelized: "We conceive a person's processes as operating through a network of pathways rather than as fluttering about

²⁶Ibid., p. 11.

²⁷Ibid., p. 46.

²⁸Ibid., p. 47.

²⁹Ibid., p. 47.

³⁰Ibid., p. 48.

in a vast emptiness. The network is flexible and is frequently modified, but it is structured and it both facilitates and restricts a person's range of action."³¹

Ways: "A person's processes, psychologically speaking, slip into the grooves which are cut out by the mechanisms he adopts for realizing his objectives."³²

Anticipates: "Here is where we build into our theory its predictive and motivational features. Like the prototype of the scientist he is, man seeks prediction. His structured network of pathways leads toward the future so that he may anticipate it. This is the function it serves. Anticipation is both the push and pull of the psychology of personal constructs."³³

Events: "Man ultimately seeks to anticipate real events. This is where we see psychological processes as tied down to reality. . . .It is the future that tantalizes man, not the past. Always he reaches out to the future through the window of the present."³⁴

The psychology of personal constructs establishes a conceptualized system by which we can understand how a person perceives and reacts to his experience, particularly his interpersonal experiences. Using the term offered by the Sherifs we can say the Kelly's theory allows us to understand how man deals psychologically with social stimulus situations. Constructs are integrally related to an individual's attitudes and for our purposes constructs and attitudes are equated. Recalling Allport's definition of attitudes, ". . .a mental and neutral state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is

³¹Ibid., p. 49.

³²Ibid., p. 49.

³³Ibid., p. 49.

³⁴Ibid., p. 49.

related,"³⁵ we can say that a definition of a construct, as seen in Kelly's theory, agrees with this and adds one additional dimension to our understanding. Attitudes, or constructs, also determine one's conceptualization of the experience to which he reacts. Therefore, attitudes determine perception and reaction. We now need to consider what factors influence a person in his formation or alteration of personal constructs.

III. Attitudes and Group Participation

Sherif and Sherif point to two basic techniques of attitude change that have been tried in the field. The traditional method has been the one way communication. The other method is a group experience. We will divide our discussion of the group experience into two sections, group participation and group interaction. The later, according to the Sherifs, is proving to be more effective and is being given increased emphasis in modern theories of attitude change.³⁶ We shall develop this section of our paper by viewing various experiments and studies in the field to determine the effectiveness of one way communication compared to group participation. We also hope to discover from these experiments just what factors are basic to attitude formation and change in the group experience.

Our first study was conducted by Kurt Lewin in 1943 and is a comparison of the lecture method of attitude change to a group

³⁵Hartley, op. cit., p. 653.

³⁶Sherif, op. cit., p. 540.

discussion method.³⁷ The aim of the program was to change the food consumption habits of housewives during World War II from food which they ordinarily ate to meats which they usually bypassed, like beef hearts, kidneys, and sweetbreads. The housewives were divided into groups and given two different treatments. To some groups a lecturer gave a compelling speech of the various values of using these suggested meats based upon nutrition, economy, and flavor in suggested recipes and an appeal to support the war effort. The same information was given to the other groups except that a discussion technique was used in which the housewives took part. A brief introduction was given by an expert and then the housewives were free to discuss among themselves the anticipated problems and advantages of the suggested practice. Following the discussion, the women were asked to indicate whether or not they would comply with the request of the presentation.

A follow-up of the housewives involved in all the groups revealed that of those who participated in the lecture sessions only three per cent had tried any of the suggested foods in their meals. Of those who were in the discussion groups thirty-two per cent had started using the new foods. The results are impressive.

Another experiment of the same order by Lewin is reported by

³⁷Kurt Lewin, "Group Decision and Social Change," in G. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, 1952), pp. 466ff.

Arthur Cohen.³⁸ In this instance the topic of the lecture and discussions was the diet of newborn babies. The subjects were farm women who had just had their first child in a state hospital. The normal method of passing on the suggested diet was by literature and individual talks with a nutritional expert. Lewin and his students made arrangements for some mothers to meet in groups of six and discuss the suggestion after a brief presentation. After the discussion, the mothers were asked to state whether or not they intended to use the suggested diet. Follow-up studies showed the discussion-group decision technique far more effective than the one way correspondence.

These early studies indicated that participating in a group was influential in attitude change but they did not indicate which aspect of group participation made a difference -- lecture or discussion, decision or no decision, degree of consensus arrived at in the group, or the degree of publicity attached to the decision.

Cohen refers to a study by Bennett in which she attempts to distinguish the relative contributions of the various factors involved in group decisions.³⁹ She experimented with a group of undergraduates to determine their willingness to volunteer as subjects for experiments. She divided the students into a number of groups and tried various techniques upon each. Some made no decision, others made

³⁸Arthur Cohen, Attitude Change and Social Influence (New York: Basic Books, 1964), p. 103.

³⁹Ibid., p. 103.

decisions with varying degrees of individual anonymity, some discussed the material, some heard lectures about it, and finally some served as a control group. "The various combinations of the factors of group discussion, decision, degree of public commitment, and degree of consensus reached by the group permitted an assessment of their differential importance in determining behavior governing volunteering."⁴⁰

The results show that group discussion is not necessarily more effective than a lecture in influencing group decision, nor is greater public commitment more effective than less public commitment in assuring that the decision will be carried out. The act of making a decision and the degree of group consensus perceived by the individual, taken together, appear to account for the effectiveness of group decision in influencing action.⁴¹

Other studies have indicated that the discussion is more important than the act of decision although decision making by the group was influential. Pennington, Harvey, and Bass are reported by Cohen to have had a group discuss an issue and make a statement of the group as a whole following the discussion. Another group was not asked to make a group statement. The difference in individual adherence to the group decision was influenced little by the group decision. Cohen points out, however, that the study by Bennett asked individuals to make personal statements of their decisions. This system seemed more influential than a group statement. The common insight from both studies, though, is that the prime ingredient for

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 103.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 103-104.

attitude change in a group is the awareness by group members that a consensus has been reached. This cannot be done in a lecture situation. Cohen concludes, "Before a group of people can come to a consensus, in other words, they need a feeling of participation and a chance to consider alternatives together; a lecture may not serve the purpose."⁴²

The key to understanding the effectiveness of discussion groups lies in the understanding of group pressures and group norms. The Sherifs have shown in their work that one of the significant reasons that efforts at changing attitudes through information or logical argument is ineffective is that change often implies to the individual the necessity of a break from the security of cherished group ties.⁴³ Therefore, if social interaction of significance takes place within a group, the individual participant can move safely with the developing trend toward the altering or developing of a group norm. In these cases the new group norm provides the limits within which the individual may alter his attitude to allow for construct alternation or reformation. This is a central concept in our study.

There is one word of caution provided by the Sherifs regarding this assumption. The group norm theory does not necessarily hold true in other cultures. The case that illustrates this was a recent study in India. Attempts were made to change caste attitudes with the greatest change coming by the lecture system as opposed to discussion.

⁴²Ibid., p. 104.

⁴³Sherif, op. cit., p. 547.

The experimenter commented on this:

Contrary to our original expectation and hypothesis, these young boys do not seem to be in a position to exploit fully the discussion technique, in bettering their social relationships. Does it indicate that our boys have got to be used to democratic ways of discussion and at present prefer to be told what are the right attitudes rather than to be allowed to talk them out?⁴⁴

The basic question is where do individuals find support for their ego systems? In a social organization, the values of which clearly encourage dependence upon authority and discourage discussing issues on a give and take basis, the dynamics of attitude change, as discovered in American studies of group processes, are not present. Such a study revealed this situation in German youth immediately following the second World War.⁴⁵ In America, on the other hand, the individual does depend upon his group or groups for ego support and identity. Our task of attitude change, then, seems to point to group interaction.

IV. Inter-Group Dynamics and Attitude Change

Recognizing that inter-group relationships can lead to attitude change, the tendency for individuals interested in attitude change would be to bring groups into relationship. This is a step in the right direction but the questions of what specifically one means

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 114-115, quotation taken from Gardner Murphy, In The Minds of Men (New York: Basic Books, 1954).

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 548.

by relationship and what happens when groups come into contact must be dealt with if we are to proceed intelligently and effectively in group interaction.

Two studies cited by the Sherifs shed light on the type of group interaction that is most effective in attitude formation. The two groups brought together in both cases were not on friendly terms. In the first case, a study by S. C. Dodd, two student groups which represented antagonistic ethnic groups were given lectures on the virtues of beliefs upheld by both groups. They were taken separately to visit each other's religious edifices. After the exposure the two groups were tested and found to have made insignificant shifts from their original stands toward each other. In fact, the greatest movement in attitude was toward more solid ethnic group identification.⁴⁶

The other study was by F. T. Smith and obtained definite favorable shifts in the attitudes of forty-six graduate students who spend two weeks in Harlem. They met prominent Negro citizens and attended parties at "distinguished Negro homes."⁴⁷ This study is interesting but misleading in that the individual Negroes met were selected for their "outstanding" abilities and accomplishments. For our purposes, however, the personal contact is significant whether the individuals were pre-selected or not.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 549.

It is necessary, however, to ask what attitude change could we expect when the individuals from two ethnic groups were brought together without a prior selection of individuals to interact. Such a study was done by P. Mussen.⁴⁸ Mussen studied the affects of a four-week long contact between white and Negro boys at an unsegregated camp. At the conclusion of the camp some twenty-five per cent of the 106 white boys showed more prejudice and about the same number showed a decline in prejudice. Using factor analysis he was able to explain the reasons for the changes as well as for those who did not change attitude over the four weeks. His conclusions were that those boys who became less prejudiced were those who enjoyed the camp setting. The boys who increased in prejudice exhibited "great needs to defy authority, and strong aggressive feelings." Here we see both social interaction and personality factors involved in the presence of absence of attitude change.

The Sherifs provided a classic study of group behavior with their report of the Robber's Cave experiment. The experiment was extensive but we have an adequate condensation of their findings in this statement:

It was found there that when groups were antagonistic toward each other it was not sufficient to bring them into contact, even when the activities in the contact situations were satisfying in themselves (like meals in the same hall or watching a movie together.) Such contact situations were utilized for further expressions of intergroup conflict. It was only in situations with superordinate goals of high appeal value to both groups

⁴⁸Sherif, op. cit., pp. 549-550.

that they cooperated across group lines. This intergroup cooperation followed the realization that goals could not be attained through the energy and resources of one group without the other.⁴⁹

Another study of the attitudes of men toward a different ethnic group was conducted by Ira N. Brophy.⁵⁰ In studying the anti-Negro prejudice of merchant seamen he found that prejudice was present in an inverse ratio to the experiences white seamen had shared with Negro seamen and with the number of times they had shipped together.

The men he studied shared similar backgrounds as merchant seamen, they received comparable wages, and lived together in a isolated society over a period of months at a time. Deck workers, who had more occasion to see and work with fellow workers who were Negro, proved less prejudiced than men who worked in the galley, the engine room, and other areas of the ship's life. There was a direct ratio of the number of years of sea duty to a diminishing of prejudice for men in all lines of work on board. On a scale that measured high prejudice, moderate prejudice, and little or no prejudice, the distribution for men who were in their first year of sea duty was 43% high, 13% moderate, and 44% little or none. For those who had over ten years sea duty there were no middle positions, 15% expressed high prejudice and 85% expressed little or no prejudice. For those men who had been bombed or experienced enemy attacks with Negro shipmates there was significantly less prejudice at all stages

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 550.

⁵⁰Ira N. Brophy, "The Luxury of Anti-Negro Prejudice," Public Opinion Quarterly, IX (1945), 456-466.

of seniority.

Let us summarize these insights concerning group interaction. From Dodd we found that exposure to other ethnic groups, whether antagonistic or just strange, is not effective in attitude change but rather reinforces the in-group identity. Smith pointed out the value of personal interaction with another group for attitude change within the life of a group. Mussen demonstrated that random selection of subjects in an integrated summer camp for four weeks creates attitude change, both positive and negative. The Sherifs demonstrated that contact between antagonistic groups was not effective in attitude change but that interaction and the possibility of attitude change results when two groups work on superordinate goals. Brophy found that shared experience and extended relationships reduced prejudice significantly. We may conclude, then, that interaction between individuals from two groups over a period of time from two weeks to a period of years, where both groups are cooperating to accomplish superordinate goals, will lead to a lessening of antagonism and prejudice between the groups and thus between the individual members of the groups.

These conclusions are supported by Gordon Allport in his book, The Nature of Prejudice. He concludes his chapter on the affects of contact with this paragraph:

Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or

local atmosphere), and if it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups.⁵¹

We must be encouraged by this suggestion for it not only indicates a direction for redemptive social activity but it also suggests that the church is in a particularly advantageous position to carry off such a program. The church could provide the "institutional supports" referred to by Allport.

Individuals are often members of more than one group, however. What attitude change might be affected in one situation might be altered in another by the force of another group norm. Family group norms often exert themselves in this fashion. A study questioning various group influences was conducted by T. M. Newcomb at Bennington College.⁵² The data in the study involved college students' attitudes on specific social issues of the day. Questionnaires were administered in the freshman year and each subsequent year until graduation for four entire classes. The College was a school of some 250 students, rather isolated geographically. The campus included all the necessary facilities for day to day life. The students, all girls, spent, on the average, one weekend per month away from the school. The standards of the school were high, attracting girls from relatively affluent conservative families. The college and faculty represented

⁵¹Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Doubleday, 1958), p. 281.

⁵²Sherif, op. cit., p. 541, quoted from T. M. Newcomb, Personality and Social Change (New York: Dryden, 1943).

liberal stands on social and political issues. The entire campus represented a liberal trend along the lines of progressive education with participation in project units rather than formal lectures and discipline characterizing their method.

For the great majority of students the college became the reference group. Accordingly this majority shifted from rather conservative stands held by the girls' families upon entrance to the liberal stands represented by their new reference group. Attitude change in the liberal direction was not universal, however. Newcomb explains the change and the lack of change by the "reference-group concept."

For the majority of individuals, the college community was effective in providing a sense of belongingness, a sense of status and achievement during the living present of their college years. Thus they were "absorbed in college community affairs" and "influenced by community expectations regarding codes, standards, etc." For many individuals who did not change, the college life did not provide these anchorages. Their anchorages remained elsewhere, or they were groping as a result of a conflict between anchorages. Hence, they were "Indifferent to activities of student committees" and "resistant to community expectations."⁵³

In 1939 Newcomb sent questionnaires to graduates of Bennington of 1936, 1937, and 1938. He wanted to measure the persistence or nonpersistence of attitudes developed during the period of college life. "The overall findings were that, the longer the residence in this 'closely knit, integral community,' the greater was the change in the liberal direction and the greater was the persistence of the changed attitudes."⁵⁴

⁵³Ibid., p. 543.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 544.

From the Bennington study we see that group identity is significant in determining attitudes and that the longer and more intensive the identity the more lasting the attitudes. It is of interest to note, also, that the experience the Bennington girls had in their college classes was one of group participation with discussion and opportunities to consider alternatives to the liberal positions offered by the college.

V. Intra-Group Dynamics and Attitude Change

Before we draw conclusions of the meaning of these understandings of group dynamics for the church, we need to look more closely at the experience and reactions of individuals within a group. One study, coming from observation at cocktail parties, and another, which is a laboratory study, provide help for our understanding of interpersonal relations within groups.

Jeanne Watson and Robert J. Potter⁵⁵ have suggested that we might learn much about the interaction of individuals within a group if we were to study sociability as a form of interaction. Taking private parties as their analytical unit they came up with many valuable insights. They began with the assumption that sociability was a form of interaction in which the display, maintenance, and

⁵⁵Jeanne Watson and Robert J. Potter, "An Analytic Unit for the Study of Interaction," Human Relations, XV, (August 1962), 245-263.

development of personal identity if of paramount importance. They suggest that the development of identity takes two forms, the identification with the people participating in the social event and a process of remaining simultaneously within the realms of fact and fiction which the experimenters call one's legend.

"Social interaction," according to Watson and Potter, "gives form to the image of self and the image of the other; it gives validity and continuity to the identifications which are the source of an individual's self-esteem."⁵⁶ When guests come together there is the assumption on the part of someone, perhaps the host, that these are people who belong together, who share some common identity. "A social event gives reality to the network of association which links the individual with his fellow man and the interaction which occurs affirms and increases the commonality of experience which makes this association possible."⁵⁷

Sociability is seen, also, to provide and affirm feelings of esteem for the self and for the others in the party. This results from the identifying process mentioned above and also from an accumulating structure of beliefs about self, others, and the external world.

In addition to gaining identity from the group, the experimenters see that individuals also participate in an exercise of identity discovery. Participants represent themselves in conversation

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 246.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 246.

as if what they are saying about themselves or others is true. At the same time they reserve the right to change their views on their topic of conversation at the next gathering or open conversation. This gives persons the chance to "try on" a personality or a particular point of view to see how they feel in that situation. If it does not prove satisfactory it may be discarded following the social event. The opposite is true also, if a person finds that he likes the part of himself which he gave expression to the previous day. This quality of remaining simultaneously within the realms of fact and fiction is peculiarly characteristic of sociability, and (Watson and Potter) have tentatively chosen to refer to it as the quality of legend.

The authors summarize their study with these words:

For present purposes, the important belief is that we assumed that the creation and maintenance of belief involve cumulative process; that, within sociable interaction, the process of affirmation, verification, and consensual definition proceed by accretion; and that, in fact, each process consists of the repetition of the same assertions again and again. We assumed, further, that sociability continues in two ways to the establishment and maintenance of belief: it contributes both by the manner in which persons relate to one another for the purpose of interacting, and by the substance of what they have to say about whatever topic serves as a focus of attention.⁵⁸

We can see from this study that inter-group relations, if they are represented by sociability as Watson and Potter suggest, provide two important bases for identity and security, the group identity which members claim for themselves, and the freedom within

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 246-247.

the constructs of the group norm to experiment with expression of various dimensions of their own personality and views in the process of establishing their own self identity.

The Sherifs conducted a classic experiment in their laboratory that informs us how individuals are influenced in relationship with others. We hold this up at this point as a suggestion of how members within a group are able to exert their influence upon other group members. It can also serve as a suggestion of how a group norm influences the group members.

An autokinetic test was created in order to establish a situation where there would be no norm or reference point from which a person could make a judgment of perspective. A darkened room was set up with a single point of light visible at one end and a table and chairs with various apparatus at the other. The light was stable and did not move but without perspective as to where the light was in the room, close or far away, plus a natural confusion of perception that occurs in such a situation, it was not possible for anyone to determine that the light was stable or the degree of its apparent movement. Persons were led into the room and given the following instructions in written form:

When the room is completely dark I shall give you the signal READY, and then show you a point of light. After a short time the light will start to move. As soon as you see it move, press the key. A few seconds later the light will disappear. Then tell me (verbally) the distance it moved. Try to make your estimates as accurate as possible.⁵⁹

⁵⁹Sherif, op. cit., p. 253.

In the initial experiment one person was asked to take the test and the experimenters made the following conclusion:

The results unequivocally indicate that when individuals perceive movements which lack any other standard of comparison they subjectively establish a range of extent (a scale) and a point (a standard or norm) within that range which is peculiar to the individual. The ranges and standards or norms established by the various individuals differ.⁶⁰

This data corresponds with Kelly's personal construct theory which says that man cannot stand the ambiguity of chaos and orders it by fitting some construct over it whether the fit is accurate or not.

To study interpersonal reactions in such a situation the experimenters placed two subjects in the darkened room. One of them was planted with instructions to keep his announced judgments within a certain range. The other subject was unaware of the situation and was called the "naive" participant. Seven pairs were given the test. The planted subject, the same person in each pair, was given a different range of movement to report each sitting. The pair was asked to make one hundred judgments of movement, fifty by each subject. They were instructed to allow each person the opportunity to give his estimate first for one half of the time to guard against any influence attributed to primacy. The naive subject was asked to return the second day to take the test again but alone the second time.

The results of the first testing are reported as follows:

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 253.

As judgments were given aloud time after time, the naive subject converged toward the prescribed range and norm adopted by the planted subject. However, this convergence toward a common range and norm was not without some hesitancy or resistance. At first, when his judgments diverged from the planted subject's considerably, there was uneasiness and resistance on the part of the naive subject. But since he did not have any objective gauges to give him support against the consistent, steady judgments by the planted subject (who of course showed no difficulty in giving judgment), the naive subject moved, in time, toward the scale and norm of the planted subject.⁶¹

One of the interesting findings resulting from the second testing was that the naive subject, alone in the second testing, showed a greater degree of convergence toward the prescribed norm represented by the planted subject the day before. For example, in the first session only 34% of the judgments of one naive subject were within the range established by the planted subject. In the second testing 80% of his responses fell in that range. There is a parallel here between the findings of Watson and Potter and the results of the Sherifs' autokinetic testing. The second opportunity given an individual to respond to a given situation, be it a judgment of a light's movement in a darkened room or a reaction to a light opera, allows him the chance to assimilate the attitude of another who seemed more capable of representing an accurate and acceptable answer. The hesitancy on the part of the naive subject to accept the view of the planted subject, found by the Sherif in the first testing, was attributed to a pride that disappears when an authoritative person is no longer threatening the responder by his presence.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 553.

The final experiment in interpersonal relations with which we shall deal is one that speaks to our inquiry into the dynamics of intra-group relations as well as our previous inquiry into inter-group relations. James Bieri⁶² tells of a laboratory experiment in which he attempts to seek insight into the general problem, "How does the way we perceive another person change as a result of interacting with that person?"⁶³ The specific hypothesis which he wished to test as to answer to the problem arose from Kelly's personal construct theory. Assuming that one's perception of another is constantly changing as a result of interaction, then, over a period of time, a series of predictions of the other's behavior should reflect the changes in one's perceptions of him.

As interaction proceeds, a progressive change in each of the participants' perceptions of the other may be expected. Specifically, it is hypothesized that the changes will be in the direction of perceiving the other individual as more similar to oneself, as a result of increasing agreement with and knowledge about the other person.⁶⁴ (underlining ours.)

The experiment was conducted in three phases: the first phase included pairs of individuals with each individual given a Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study and instructed to complete his own response on a score sheet provided. Each individual, not knowing the partner with whom he was taking the test before they came together in the test booth, was asked to complete another score sheet as he thought

⁶²James Bieri, "Changes In Interpersonal Perceptions Following Social Interaction," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, XLVIII (January 1953), 61-66.

⁶³Ibid., p. 61.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 63.

his partner would complete his own. The second phase was one of conversation. For twenty minutes the partners were introduced to each other and allowed to talk. A control group, meanwhile, was going through the same procedure except that it was not allowed to converse during the twenty minutes but, instead, was asked to think about the other person for that time. The third phase of the testing asked the participants to once again indicate how they felt their partner would respond to the Picture-Frustration Study.

The results were tabulated to see how many more areas of agreement existed between one's own answers and his prediction of his partner's answers as the result of interaction. Bieri was not interested in how accurate the participants were in anticipating their partner's answers.

The results show a significant increase in similarity to self between the first and second predictions for the experimental group. The control group showed a slight, but statistically insignificant increase in similarity to self responses.

The findings of the study are construed as supporting the hypothesis that in a constructive group interaction situation in which mutual agreement on experiences and preferred activities is emphasized, members come to perceive their partners as more similar to themselves.⁶⁵

One variance with the hypothesis and conclusions developed in the experiment. There were six negative cases where the second testing did not bring a participant's view of the other's responses closer to his own views. Three of these were from the only Negro participants in the study. Bieri suggests that, "It may well be that

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 66.

the specific role relationship played out in the Negro-white interaction was of such a rigid, culturally defined nature that the Negro student did not feel free to construe or perceive his white partner as more similar to himself."⁶⁶

Our previous discussions of group interactions would indicate that the twenty minutes were not adequate for persons of different cultural backgrounds to come to the point of identifying his own feelings and experiences with those of the other person.

The Bieri study explains another dimension of the process of developing common identity between individual members of a single group and thus for the group as a whole. Persons interacting develop understandings of others based upon their own constructs of self-understanding.

Between groups the Bieri study points to interaction as an effective way of overcoming a sense of separateness and arriving at a recognition of common identity, a human identity. The caution provided is that persons set in a situation where they are without their group supports may call to mind differences rather than similarities. This well may be a defensive maneuver to bolster one's identity in a threatening situation. Again, even where group supports are provided, the length of time necessary to overcome initial competition and to work through to assimilation is a matter of days, not minutes.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 64.

Gordon Allport makes reference to stages of interaction that some sociologists hold as normal through which two different groups move over a period of time in their relationship.⁶⁷ The initial stage is sheer contact which leads to the second, competition. As competition is worked through, accomodation occurs followed finally by assimilation. There is no time schedule provided in this theory but we can suppose that the greater the difference, the longer the period between contact and assimilation. We can further suggest, in the case of Negro-white relationships, that assimilation does not necessarily mean one group losing its identity within that of the majority group. Assimilation in this instance may well mean a compromise by both groups whereby individuals of both races may maintain their group identities and assimilate into their respective norms a willingness and acceptance of the positive value of living in an inter-cultural situation open to all.

In bringing our discussion of intra-group relations together, this writer suggests that we have significant insights into the role of a reference group in relationship to its members. We have seen that in our culture reference groups are central to an individual's identity formation. They are therefore integral to attitude formation. Individuals seek to identify with persons who represent qualities which they wish to have recognized in themselves. Persons coming together in this way form groups that provide both an identity

⁶⁷Allport, op. cit., p. 250.

which the members may claim as theirs and an opportunity to experiment with other dimensions of their personhood to which they may wish to give expression.

At this point a liberty is taken with Kelly's theory of personal constructs which this writer feels affirmed to do as a result of our understanding of the role of groups in personal attitude formation. We have seen how an individual forms constructs to classify his experience of reality. It is suggested here that a group has an identity in the minds of its members and that that identity similarly expresses attitudes and develops constructs in response to social stimulus situations. That identity and the resulting constructs are uniquely perceived by every member just as personal constructs are unique to each person, but there is a difference in the mind of the individual between his constructs and those of the group. We are suggesting that every group member has a conception of what that group represents, what its identity is. That identity is real in the minds of its members; that identity is also real in itself.

Persons join groups in order to identify themselves with their perception of that group's identity. Their attitudes are therefore altered by the group as it provides a new perception of reality for them. An individual joins or is accepted into a group because he accepts its constructs. The group thereby sets limits on attitudes within which it is acceptable for its members to fluctuate. If a member expresses an attitude beyond the limit of the group's

constructs the individual has the choice of changing his attitude or suffering the rejection of the group. Group constructs, just as personal constructs, are established in order that individuals can eliminate the frustration of living in chaos. Groups are less apt to alter their constructs than are individuals for rather than accomodate difference, they reject it.

Because persons are born into groups or voluntarily accept membership in groups, they are inclined to accept the word of the recognized spokesman for their group regarding many issues that lie beyond their own experience. The Sherifs' light test shows how this occurs even when the planted subject is not a group leader. We can assume that such compliance with an authoritative voice would be accentuated in a reference group situation. Spokesmen, too, are influenced by the group identity and are probably accepted as spokesmen because they most closely approximate the group identity in the minds of most of the group members.

Acknowledging that this is a theory of group identity and constructs and therefore hypothetical, this writer, nevertheless, suggests that it is helpful in understanding the present condition of the suburban church.

VI. Conclusions for the Suburban Church

With these insights and theories of attitude formation and change in relation to reference groups we turn now to consider the implications of this for the Protestant church in suburbia. We have

spent a considerable portion of time discussing the dilemma of the suburban church caught up in an exclusive society. It should be clear that the position of this paper is that the suburban church must break out of its suburban captivity and proclaim a gospel which has inclusiveness as a main tenet. We want to temper the churchman's concern for security, which is basically self-centered, by a concern for others. By others we do not mean others within our group for that concern is for others who reflect our values and identity. It is thus still essentially self-concern. We need to redirect our concern to persons who are outside of our group. The group norm for the church must be mission. Mission is a nebulous concept that does not assume reality until it is acted out in a real situation. We can define its intent, however. The church is called to its mission which is to live as a servant of its fellowmen. The life of Jesus Christ is our example of being a missionary, living for others. As we discover what this means in our particular situation as individuals and as the Church, we discover our mission. The identity of the Church and of its members will be discovered as they dedicate themselves to the mission of the Church. The great paradox voiced by Jesus has deep significance for the life of the suburban church, "He who finds his life will lose it, and he who loses his life for my sake will find it." (Matthew 10:39.)

If we accept the charge that the suburban church expresses a loyalty to its culture above a loyalty to its Lord and His calling to mission, that the church in the suburb is heavily invested in the

conservation of the good life instead of the revolution for social justice, then the question we must ask is how can we change, renew, the suburban church? In practical language, what we mean when we call for renewal of the suburban church is that we find ways to change the attitudes of churchmen who are content with the exclusive sanctuary from the world which they understand church to be.

We must first face some facts about the suburban church. It is not a reference group for most of its members. Instead, the church is a sub-group, a religious confirmation of the larger group within whose constructs the church is bound, the suburb. There are also many sub-sub-groups within most churches, gathered around minor common traits. These traits are not norms but reflections of the suburban norm with special sub-classifications beyond religiousness such as age, family interests, income, vocation, recreational interest, etc.

This is not to deny that for some members, Brunner calls them the ecclesia,⁶⁸ Christ's church is a significant reference group. The group norm for the ecclesia is some ramification of mission. These are often confused and frustrated persons, however, for they are aware of the high calling of God's people and are committed to the perpetuation of the church as an institution so that His calling might be heard and fulfilled, but they are at their wits end to know how to make their church effective. The price for maintaining the institution in the suburb is often the sacrifice of the very norm of mission which gives the ecclesia its identity.

⁶⁸Emil Brunner, The Misunderstanding of the Church (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953), p. 250.

The challenge to a church in the suburbs is to seek its identity, establish its constructs, live its life as, with Webber, "God's colony in man's world." This colony would be the reference group whose norm would be the life of Christ which, lived in today's world, is understood as servanthood. This is our mission, to serve mankind. Mission dictates that a community be inclusive. Mission places all activities within the life of a church into a perspective that gives them reason and purpose. Without mission, preaching becomes empty words to empty pews. Without mission, counseling becomes the binding of one's own wounds for the living of a life without direction. Without mission, Christian education becomes the half truths of timid souls calling their children to do as they say, not as they do. Without mission social action becomes a secular activity entered into for the sake of mankind tangled in religious contradictions that hinder effectiveness and compromise justice.

Recognizing that the suburban church is made up of persons who participate in various sub-groups but understand their common group identification to be the exclusive suburb, the challenge of inclusive attitudes is seen as a threat that creates insecurity and ambivalence. Renewal must have a superordinate goal that would unify churchmen. The mission of the Church becomes that common goal. It allows members in the Church to maintain their differences and still cooperate within the constructs of a shared reference group. The mission of the Church thus allows the Church itself to be inclusive, that is, allows each member to maintain his or her identity without demanding conformity to a restrictive norm. The norm of the gospel

as revealed in the life of Jesus Christ accepts difference and encourages the fulfillment of each individual as a unique human being.

It is possible that the sub-groups that existed in the suburban church would dissolve in the renewed Church of Christ. This does not mean that sub-groups would cease to exist; rather, that the individuals who formed the sub-groups of the exclusive suburban church and were limited by the constructs of the residential reference group, would have greater freedom of expression and attitude development in the renewed Church. They would probably, therefore, form new sub-groups around new interests.

We must hasten here to say that our criticism of the suburban church is not a blanket criticism. Not all suburban churches are dominated by their environment, but many are. Nor do all members and ministers of churches dominated by their suburban environment possess exclusive attitudes regarding all issues or even any issues. We have referred to these faithful as the ecclesia and recognize their existence in most Protestant churches in every suburb. It is not to spite these Christian persons that this paper is written; it is, rather, to encourage them. For we write not of a destruction and rebuilding of the suburban church but of a renewal. Renewal comes from within. It is the ecclesia who must bear the burden of the task. It is our purpose in this paper to offer suggestions that, hopefully, would aid the Church of Jesus Christ in its renewal.

What would it mean in the life of the suburban Protestant churches if they became inclusive reference groups with their group

norm being the mission to which they found themselves called? We cannot answer this question accurately for any one congregation, for the life of each is unique just as the life of each person is unique. We can suggest some possible directions that the life of a renewed church might take. We base these upon the insights provided earlier in this chapter.

Our first assumption is that renewal will begin within a congregation led by a few individuals who have caught the vision of the calling of God's people. We would hope that the clergy of this hypothetical congregation would support and be a part of this ecclesia. This is not necessary but helpful. The first task of the ecclesia is to work to change the group identification of the congregation. (We are making the assumption here that group identification is prior to attitude formation. Newcomb's Bennington College study revealed how the group identification with the school altered the students' attitudes from the conservatism that characterized their home group toward the liberal attitudes that were represented by the college.) The change in group identity might well be accomplished by concentrating efforts for change in two areas of a church's life, new membership training and a program of exposure and interaction for the existing congregation. The second is by far the more important area. It not only would offer an existing congregation new insights into the challenge of mission in today's world but would also set a style of congregational life that could be used to introduce new members to the identity of the church of Christ. In Chapter IV we

will deal specifically with a research project of exposure and interaction and discuss the implications for the church in Chapter V.

Efforts to change the basic group identification of a congregation will not be met with pleasure by the exclusive membership. Controversy is inevitable and, as an inevitable result of controversy, membership will decline. A basic problem in the suburban church is that membership is based on an exclusive attitude postulate that individuals should identify with the congregation that is composed of "our kind of people." Loyalty to this postulate often surpasses loyalty to a congregation or to the gospel that is at the base of its reason for existence. People who deal in controversy, who confront real issues of difference and injustice in the open, are not "our kind of people."

The other side of this coin of membership decline is the belief that there are many individuals in the suburbs who are aware of the phenomenon of urbanization and have stayed out of the churches. They have seen churches as chains upon suburban society's neck in its efforts to come to terms with urbanization and as rallying places for ruralism. The church will draw from this group when it turns its efforts to mission. It is this writer's conviction that regardless of numbers, the Church, composed of those members who accept its mission of inclusiveness, new members who come to the Church because it is finally becoming the force for love and justice that they knew it could be, and new members who see the relevance of the Church as they had never seen it before, will become an institution that will

once again be an effective instrument for God's work, this time in an urbanized society.

Controversy should become a creative dimension of the life of the renewed suburban congregation. The rural reaction to differences in people is to react against them in an effort to exclude them. The urban reaction to differences is to accept them as normal without bothering to deal with personhood. As we had suggested in Chapter II, the task of the renewed suburban church will not be to reject ruralism, particularly as found in our suburbs, or to welcome urbanism, but rather to recognize the values for human existence found in both, i.e. freedom in the city, identity and thus security in the suburb. We will still have controversy in the renewed Church, therefore. Difference will challenge security as well as stimulate freedom.

According to the insights of Pennington, Harvey, and Bass, group membership is effective in attitude change when it allows individuals to participate in the life of the group and have a chance to consider the alternatives offered by issues. Controversy in a church, accepted as creative, can provide persons with the incentive and the opportunity to participate and consider alternatives. The Church will always find itself seeking the razor's edge between security and freedom. We are suggesting that this can be done creatively in a church that identifies itself with its mission and is willing to experience the tension between security and freedom which is expressed in controversy.

Without the transcendent norm of the Church's calling through

Christ, controversy can be destructive. Allport's comment on the stages of relationships when two groups representing differing backgrounds or views come together is helpful here. The first stage of contact can be equated to an honest facing of differences within a congregation. The second stage is conflict. This is the controversy that is inevitable if differences are faced. At this stage the necessity of recognizing a higher calling, a transcendent norm, becomes clear. Without this common awareness the disputing groups break relationship. Acknowledging a superordinate goal, the disputing elements can work through their differences and reach the third stage of accommodation.

Bieri's insight regarding the effect of interaction illuminates the progression to and through accommodation to the final stage of assimilation. As may be recalled, Bieri discovered that interaction allows the participating individuals to recognize that the other participant shares a common humanity with himself. This level of understanding approaches the second of the two great commandments, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself." (Matthew 22:39b) This dimension of understanding and concern allow churchmen to truly say, "We are one in Christ."

Before we close this chapter and move on to discuss group interaction as a possible technique for suburban renewal, let us consider two tasks of the local congregation that have been thought of as vital to its life in the light of our discussion of group dynamics and attitude formation and change, preaching and teaching.

In a day of mass communication, when children grow up having spent an average of better than two hours per day in front of a television set, Madison Avenue advertising firms study and exploit every dimension of human stimulus and response, conscious and sub-conscious, liminal and subliminal, government works overtime wording and structuring news releases and announcements based upon opinion polls and anticipated public response, and social psychologists tell us that the lecture method of communication is ineffective in changing individual attitudes beyond their basic group constructs, what is the role of preaching?

The Lewin studies demonstrate that lecture, either verbal or written, does not compare to group discussion and individual commitment as a method of effective attitude change. The Bennett study affirms the value of the act of making a decision in a group experience but focuses attention upon an equally valuable attitude influencing condition, the recognition that the group has reached a consensus on a decision. As mentioned, Pennington, Harvey, and Bass affirm the group experience of participating in the discussion from which a decision is wrought along with the opportunity such discussion presents for considering alternatives together. Contemporary Protestant sermons preached in suburbia often do not have any of the ingredients which social psychologists, for over twenty-five years, have recognized as effective in attitude change. In recent years experiments have been conducted from pulpits using dialogue sermons which increase the possibility of alternatives being

considered during a sermon. Some men have incorporated sermon preparation with small groups meeting during the week which enhances the dimension of discussion of the topics with which the sermon deals. Others have held discussion sessions following the morning sermons. These are all steps in the right direction but they seem too few and too hesitant.

The day of the great pulpiteers has passed because the day that the American church going public would accept the magic and assumptions of an other worldly religion and the authority of "God's men," who preached His word, are gone. The days of an uneducated congregation are gone. The preacher is no longer one of the few educated men in the town. The study of the effectiveness of group discussion in India as opposed to the lecture quoted by Gardner Murphy in his book, In the Minds of Men,⁶⁹ illustrates that the willingness of a group of people to accept the word of a single authority is a cultural phenomenon. Along the line of time cultures change and our American culture is no longer one that readily accepts the word of the lecturer.

This is not to say that the sermon has no place in our contemporary churches. We do mean to call into question what that place is, however. Recognizing that lectures are effective within the constructs of a reference group for members of that group, but that they have little value in attitude change for those outside that

⁶⁹Sherif, op. cit., p. 548.

group, we must conclude that the sermon is a means of communicating and influencing members of the particular group with which the minister identifies and who identify with him.

If the minister preaching identifies with the exclusive group he will be more influential in the suburb than one who identifies with the inclusive group. This identification is not always one which the respective minister would accept as his own understanding of his preaching ministry, however. The identification is made by the congregation. If a minister speaks generalities, which he may consider to be a great thrust of rhetoric for inclusiveness, but which are heard by his congregation as principles consistent with exclusiveness, he is a spokesman for the exclusive group. Kelly's theory of personal constructs shows us that persons understand their experience in terms of their constructs. Generalities are without reality. If preaching is to be effective it must deal with reality, with the concrete.

If a minister directs his sermons to concrete issues and represents an inclusive position he will be heard by and influence the inclusive group in his congregation. He will also be heard by and challenged the exclusive attitudes of the exclusive group in his congregation. He will not change the attitudes of the exclusive members, however. He is most likely to create controversy. We have already discussed this aspect of the inclusive congregation.

One additional comment about the inclusive sermon on concrete issues should be added. To have meaning for the inclusive congregation

the issues will be spoken to from the perspective of the mission of that congregation. The sermon receives purpose when seen as a part of the nurture of the faithful so that they might continue in their mission as individuals and as the church.

Let us turn for a moment, now, to implications which our discussion of attitude formation and change has for the teaching ministry. Much of what has been said concerning preaching applies here also. We are faced by two basic group orientations in the suburb, the exclusive and the inclusive. Most of our members and their children view the world through constructs which are derived from norms of exclusion. When we teach a church member, be he an adult or a child, that Jesus said to love your neighbor, what are we saying to someone who understands these words through exclusive constructs? If we tell of the good Samaritan and equate him with the Negro in our culture we are not communicating with the vast majority. Many of the young people in suburbia, let alone their parents, have never met a Negro as a person, have never talked of dignity or self respect with a member of an inner-city ghetto. In the suburb love your neighbor means to respect his property.

S. C. Dodd speaks to our dilemma with his study of exposure where he took two groups of different ethnic backgrounds separately to each other's place of worship, residential area, etc. Each group had lectures of the value of its way and the value of the other group's style of life. Neither group met the other or discussed common experiences or concerns. The results were that each group

reinforced its ethnic identity with little or no gained appreciation for the other.

If we are educating our church people to live their entire lives in the protection of the suburb maintained as it is now, our present system of isolated discussions, singing, and coloring sessions is adequate. If we are to educate ourselves for living as Christians in an urban world we must find ways to integrate our educative process with experiences of interaction with persons of different backgrounds from throughout our entire society.

CHAPTER IV

AN EXPERIMENT IN GROUP INTERACTION

TOWARD THE END OF ATTITUDE CHANGE

With our preceding discussions of the condition of the suburban church in relation to urbanization and the necessity to reorient our suburban church people to an inclusive group identity, we are led to this chapter and a discussion of a specific technique for attitude change designed to influence individuals to move from an exclusive reference group toward an inclusive group reference, in this case, the church in mission. The technique that has been suggested in our review of social psychology as most effective in attitude change is the experience of group interaction where both groups share a superordinate goal. With this in mind, a program of group interaction was organized and carried out with appropriate measuring devices used to determine attitude change. In this chapter we shall initially state and define the terms of our basic hypothesis regarding interaction and then proceed to a detailed discussion of the research project which has been named "Operation Outreach."

I. Hypothesis

The basic hypothesis which underlies this discussion is:
EXPERIENCES OF INTERACTION BETWEEN SUBURBAN CHURCH GOERS AND PERSONS
IN URBAN SITUATIONS OUTSIDE OF THEIR COMMUNITY WHO ARE MINISTERING
IN THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST AND THOSE PERSONS TO WHOM THEY ARE

MINISTERING WILL INCREASE THE PROBABILITY OF ATTITUDE CHANGE TOWARD INCLUSIVENESS BY THE SUBURBAN PARTICIPANT.

II. Definition of Terms

1. EXPERIENCES OF INTERACTION: We refer here to Gordon Allport's definition of the effect of contact where, discussing prejudice, he says that it may be reduced by "equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals."¹ He chooses the New English Dictionary's definition of prejudice which is relevant to our study also, "A feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience."² Our concern is for the exclusive attitudes of suburbia regarding difference. We maintain that one of the significant causes of the fear of difference originates from a misconception of the reality of the human being who is different, resulting from the absence of any experience of equal status contacts in pursuit of common goals. "Experiences of interaction" are conceived of as being such equal status contacts in pursuit of common goals.

2. SUBURBAN CHURCH GOERS: We assume two conditions of identity to be present in persons who can be called "suburban church goers." The first is that they will share a common group reference which is the suburban exclusive group. The second is that they

¹Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Doubleday, 1958), p. 267.

²Ibid., p. 7.

participate in the life of a church. Church life brings them into contact with transcendent claims upon them which may be understood at various levels of comprehension from meaningless religious platitudes to genuine demands upon one's very being by a real and recognized God. The level of understanding of God's claim upon them through the church is not as important to our study as is the recognition of that claim and the willingness to be publicly identified with an organization which pays lip service to that claim.

3. URBAN SITUATIONS OUTSIDE OF THEIR COMMUNITY: We refer to urban more in a psychological dimension than in a sociological dimension. By urban we mean situations of inclusiveness where individuals who are different than those found in the suburb are equally accepted as being persons of worth. This may well be in the downtown section of a major city but it can also be found in a farm labor camp in an out of the way agricultural area.

We choose to go outside of our community because our intention is to expose our subjects to conditions different from those which they find in their residential areas. Although there may be conditions of difference available in one's residential area that illustrate the same condition we seek to confront, a subject's perception is often so conditioned in his own residential area that he screens out the reality that would allow him to meet the human being behind the generalization imposed by his personal constructs.

4. WITH PERSONS MINISTERING IN THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST: Our interaction takes place between two groups, the suburban church goes

and the persons of difference at the respective locations of outreach. It takes place within the sanction of a third and common group, however, the church of Jesus Christ. In each of our trips an individual was ministering at the location of outreach who represented the church and was supported in his work, both in spirit and in salary, by some denomination or agency of the church. He acts as the symbol of the church in that situation, his life an illustration of the claim of God upon men. Both the suburban group and the group of difference can identify with him. This shared symbol is the beginning of interaction and hopefully of common identity between the members of the two groups in interaction. In a real sense he symbolizes the reconciling presence of the church. Allport speaks to this function of the church and the representative of the church in this sentence which concludes his definition of the effect of contact upon persons in interaction, "The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports, and if it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups."³

The suburban church goer, now, away from the environment which reflects his primary group reference, the exclusive residential area, relies upon his sub-group reference, the suburban church, to represent him and establish and protect his identity in the new territory of experience in which he finds himself. The suburban church is

³Ibid., p. 267.

represented and real to him within the small group of which he is a member in this experience of interaction. His activity is thus sanctioned by his church. Furthermore, the church is real to him in the person of the individual he found at the point of outreach ministering in the name of Jesus. Hopefully, the meaning of the claim of God upon His people becomes more fully understood as a result of the relationship between the members of the suburban group and the resident minister at the point of outreach.

5. THOSE PERSONS TO WHOM THEY ARE MINISTERING: These persons may be members of a church or they may not. They are individuals who make up the group difference. Initially, they are characterized in the minds of the suburban group by the features of need that stimulate the church and its individuals to respond in ministry. This difference which appears to be a need, may be racial, educational level, sexual orientation, mental retardation, psychological inadequacy, etc.

6. WILL INCREASE THE PROBABILITY OF ATTITUDE CHANGE TOWARD INCLUSIVENESS: It is the expectation of our hypothesis that the suburban group will move from the point of exclusiveness seeing persons who are different as needing to improve upon their inadequacies so that they may become more compatible with the norm of sameness of the exclusive group, to a point of inclusiveness recognizing a common humanity with the persons of the group of difference. This recognition should bring the awareness that difference is a condition of reality, and not a value. We would then hope that the suburban group members would become sensitive to the forces in society

that harm persons of difference because of their difference. Such realizations should move one's attitude toward a norm of inclusiveness and define an area of mission for the church with which the suburban members are affiliated.

We are speaking of "increasing the probability" of attitude change. There are many forces that dissuade influences toward change. Each individual has various degrees of ego-investment in his exclusive residential group and requires a different degree of experience with others in order to discover a common humanity. For some individuals it is doubtful if any degree of interaction could change attitudes. We are not prescribing a sure-fire cure for exclusiveness but rather indicating a method of interpersonal relationship which hopefully will prove effective in the task of changing attitudes of suburban churchmen toward inclusiveness.

7. BY THE SUBURBAN PARTICIPANT: Our preoccupation in this study is with the renewal of the Protestant suburban church. We are thus focussing our attention upon the attitudes of the suburban participant in the interaction experience. We have little doubt that interaction effects the attitudes of all participants. It would be of interest and value for a future study to measure the direction and extent of the attitude change of the members of the group of difference.

We apologize at this point for using the definitive phrase "group of difference." The obvious question to be asked is, "Different from what?" The answer, of course, is "Different from the suburban

norm of sameness." It is our hope that this use of words does not indicate a suburban bias but rather a natural use of words reflecting our concern to communicate with the suburban church.

III. Operation Outreach

To test this hypothesis a program of interaction was developed for members of the senior high school Pilgrim Fellowship at the Claremont United Church of Christ, Claremont, California. The program was called "Operation Outreach" and was designed to meet the conditions of the hypothesis as closely as possible. A system of testing was designed to measure attitude change which included a Likert type opinion scale administered before and following the entire program plus personal interviews with the subjects who participated in the program. We shall go into more detail regarding the testing following a description of the Operation Outreach program.

Who participated?

In October of 1965 this writer approached the Reverend Leslie Strathern, Minister of Education at the Claremont United Church of Christ, with the proposition that he be employed to conduct a program of outreach with the senior high school fellowship group. Mr. Strathern received the suggestion eagerly indicating that he too had considered conducting such a program but had never had the time to do so. This writer was instructed to formulate a program and submit it to the Board of Christian Education for their approval. This was done and after a brief discussion, dealing with possible negative reactions

from some parts of the congregation and suggestions of how these might be faced and dealt with, the Board accepted the suggested program and commissioned this writer to proceed with it as presented.

The program was designed to include a maximum of five to seven young people on each outing, the limiting factor being the number of persons who could sit in one vehicle with this writer and luggage.

A listing of the Outreach destinations was presented to the youth group in December with the request that interested persons voluntarily sign themselves up for what ever trips they wanted to be a part of. Throughout the six months of the program participation was voluntary. Although the youth group was relatively large, thirty to forty different people participating over the course of a month, the sign up for the trips was never heavy. A number of the trips were conducted with room for one or two additional participants. Suggestions of why this might have been the case included the difficulty of taking a full weekend out of already busy schedules, objections from parents regarding the destination and planned relationships with persons different than their youngsters, lack of interest in social issues among some of the young people, and a skepticism regarding the value of investing great deal of time in any church program. This aspect of student response does not bear heavily upon our conclusions but will be discussed later. Some dimensions of these reasons will be revealed as we proceed in our analysis of reaction and attitude change.

Transportation and accomodations

As mentioned, we traveled together in one vehicle when ever possible. This was generally a nine passenger station wagon with a roof rack for extra luggage. On our trip to San Francisco, however, we flew round trip, carrying our luggage and sleeping bags with us, and relied upon public transportation while in the city. This prompted one porter to inquire where in San Francisco we were planning to camp out.

Arrangements were made for the group to sleep in the same room at most of the Outreach destinations. This included boys and girls. Sleeping bags were used and we slept on the floor. If there was a host group, such as the youth group at the Immanuel United Church of Christ in Watts, we invited them to stay with us over night and plan to eat their meals with us also.

The expense money, five dollars per person for a weekend trip, was kept by one of the young people who was appointed treasurer for the occasion. This was to cover the cost of gasoline, food, and entertainment for the forty eight hours which was the normal period of time for each trip. We would leave from the church at 4:00 p.m. on Friday and plan to return by 4:00 p.m. the following Sunday.

The purchase and preparation of meals was a group experience. Two volunteers were accepted for each meal. Their responsibilities included the developing of a menu that was within the allotted budget and the preparation of the meal. The rest of the group did the clean up work after the meal.

In all of the trips, except the one to Watts, the members of the group of difference were not available to stay with us over night. It was, however, possible to plan our meal schedules to include at least one major meal with members of the group of difference and the local person who symbolized the reconciling presence of the church.

It was mentioned that the average Outreach trip lasted forty eight hours. There were two exceptions to this. One trip included a visit to the proceedings of a divorce court which was held on a Friday morning. In this instance we left the Claremont church early Friday morning, which involved the participants' missing school on that day. The other exception was over the week of Spring vacation. A trip to San Francisco was planned for that week which left at 8:00 a.m. on Monday of the week and returned to the church by 4:00 p.m. on Friday of the same week.

Selection of outreach areas

In selecting areas for our Outreach program three qualifications were sought. (1) the presence of the church ministering to (2) persons who were "different" from the suburban norm of exclusiveness, and (3) a particular individual who symbolized the reconciling presence of the church. Numbers one and three were found to be concurrent realities. Creative ministry seems to be expressed through individuals rather than institutions. This is not to doubt the necessity of the institutional support, however.

The distance we could travel to reach an Outreach destination was limited by the amount of time we had to travel and the expense

involved in making the trip. In this day of modern transportation, however, it is possible for church groups to think in terms of hundreds of miles rather than tens of miles when considering areas of concern within their personal outreach.

Specific outreach trips

Peppermint Ridge Children's Home, Norco, California: Our first trip was a weekend outing to a home for mentally retarded boys. The home was originated by Mrs. Mary Jeffery when, through an awareness of the need for professional care for retarded children in a home-like atmosphere occasioned by her own situation of having a mentally retarded boy, she decided to seek a license from the State to board and care for such boys. After schooling and preparation of facilities she was granted a license and began the home as a private enterprise. Subsequently the Jefferys built a new facility in Norco, California which combined their private residence with the home for her boys. A Congregational Church from the nearby town of Corona became aware of the home, now called the Peppermint Ridge Children's Home, and began supporting its activities with volunteer time and contributions. A proposition emerged from that relationship suggesting that the United Church of Christ, as a denomination, and the Southern California Conference of the United Church of Christ, as the legal party in the transaction, purchase the home and run it as an official agency of the denomination. Mrs. Jeffery was hired as administrator.

The Peppermint Ridge Home fit our qualifications for an Outreach destination. It was an example of the church's ministry

expressed in a real situation. The persons of "difference," the mentally handicapped children, were present and willing to interact with our young people. Mrs. Jeffery was a church woman who had taken her calling to ministry seriously and giving her life's work to the care and rehabilitation of mentally retarded children.

The difference between the mentally retarded children and our young people was obvious. Three of the seven young people in our group had had previous encounters with mentally retarded children, two who had done volunteer work at Pacific State Hospital in Pomona, California and a third who has a cousin who is retarded. None of the participants was aware of any mentally retarded persons living in their residential community. Although we have no evidence to support this assumption we suggest that in our culture mental retardation is considered a stigma upon the family that produces it and therefore the natural reaction in the suburb is to hide the retarded person from the view of the community. In an exclusive community reality is denied to whatever is not seen.

Arrangements for lodging were made with the Corona Congregational Church where we slept and prepared our meals. We arrived Friday evening and had a pot luck meal with the children and staff at the home. Each member of our group of seven was assigned a child with whom he would be as a companion and nurse for the weekend. This began with the first meal where our young people aided the children from the home with their meals. The activities with the children over the weekend included an outing to a park for a lunch and play

time of swings, teeter-totters, etc., a group singing session, and child care around the home during the day. In addition to this the group from Claremont designed and built a rock base for a sign to be placed in front of the home. This project included the gathering of rocks from a near by hill, the digging of a foundation hole, mixing of cement, designing and building the base itself. This was accomplished by the group with a presentable sign base resulting.

As was the case in each outreach trip there were few planned discussion sessions but abundant informal opportunities to discuss the events of the trip within the Outreach group during the course of the weekend. At the conclusion of the weekend the Outreach group sat down with Mrs. Jeffery at the home for a session of questions and answers that might have developed during the experience. Most of the concern centered around individual boys, their backgrounds, and anticipated progress.

Divorce Court and the Woodland Hill Community Church, Woodland Hills, California: Our objective in this Outreach trip was to expose our young people to forces of familial estrangement and reconciliation in our society. A visit to proceedings at a San Fernando Valley divorce court was intended to introduce us to real instances of alienation. The efforts of the court at reconciliation were to be noted also. The major portion of the time spent on this outing was spent with the congregation in Woodland Hills Community Church which has had impressive success in a ministry of counseling and reconciliation.

The ingredients sought in all Outreach trips were expected in the active involvement of a large portion of this church in many phases of a ministry of reconciliation, persons who are "different," that is, different in that they were willing to be open and discuss the real pain of their lives with our group, and a particular individual whose presence reflected the reconciling spirit of the church. The latter two conditions were not as evident in this trip as they were in others.

This church has many areas of ministry directed to reconciliation between persons and within a person. For example they employed a psychiatrist who spends one day a month working with therapy groups composed of persons from within the community as well as within their church. We spent two significant hours with two members of one of these therapy groups during which they shared their personal pain, their concern for their fellow therapy member, and understanding of the relationship of the church to their therapy experience. There is a play reading group for housewives which provides outlets for creative expression and personal concerns for women who suffer from the constant company of small children throughout most of their waking hours. We met with one of the play reading group members and discussed its functions and values. The pastor of the church has much of his time occupied with personal counseling on a one to one basis. We were visited by a man who had worked through such a relationship and had come to find the church as having great meaning for him in his work with a large aero-electronics firm, where he holds a major

position, as well as in his personal life. The youth program has a unique Wednesday evening session which they call "Akita" and which is opened to all young people in the Woodland Hills community. It is led by Mrs. Jean Hoyt, who also acted as our hostess for the weekend. "Akita" provides an accepting environment where some fifty to seventy five high school students meet weekly and discuss issues that range from hair styles to international relations. The experience brings together persons from many religious heritages as well as from various Protestant denominations. They discover a religious unity in issues of the world which is not reflected in any other corporate experience in their lives. Mrs. Hoyt, a dedicated church woman, became the individual who symbolized the reconciling spirit of the church for our group.

One additional experience was added to this trip. Together with young people who had been a part of the "Akita" group as well as members of the Woodland Hills church, we went to two motion pictures, one on each night, Friday and Saturday. On Friday we saw Ship of Fools which is a skeptical comment upon the futility of life. It developed its theme through a group of characters who shared only their mutual estrangement from each other. The second night we saw A Thousand Clowns, to discover the sheer joy of living which comes through the character of Murray as played by Jason Robards. There is some doubt that we encountered a group of difference on this trip. More will be said about this under the interpretation of the test results.

Immanuel United Church of Christ, Watts District of Los Angeles County: Supported by the Southern California Conference of the United Church of Christ, the Immanuel United Church of Christ in Watts is a mission in the midst of a Negro ghetto. Its minister is a white, middle class, Yale educated, man who knows where he is, why he is there, and has some ideas of what needs to be done, the Reverend Speed Leas. The Reverend Leas' training includes a concentration upon the value and techniques of community organization. He inherited a ministry to a community passed on by the Reverend George Killingsworth, also white, who was active in CORE as well as many other civil rights efforts and community improvement programs.

The Immanuel church was originally founded by white Anglo-Saxon residents of the area. As the neighborhood became increasingly Negro the white members move away. Those remaining kept their church white. The result was that the church was dead in 1960. The white members had left and the Negro residents did not feel that they were wanted. The Conference decided to support the Reverend George Killingsworth in a mission project to minister to the residents of the area. He had to begin from the beginning. His efforts were largely with the youth through whom he also hoped to reach their parents. The Reverend Leas is less interested in youth work and is building an adult congregation. The major life of the church, lived through the ministers initially and some lay members now, remains community involvement and service.

We chose this area of outreach because it too seemed to meet

the three qualifying factors initially established. Here was a place where the church was struggling to minister. The "difference" of the group being ministered to was real. The Reverend Leas was a person who stood with one foot in the white middle class and the other in the black lower class and was a real symbol of the reconciling presence.

The response of our youth group to go to Watts was never strong. There was much interest in the trip but the memory of the August riots of 1965 was clearly in their minds. These same memories were clearly in the minds of their parents, also. We ended up with three young people accompanying this writer that weekend. Two mothers had called on the Friday we were to leave cancelling their daughter's reservations with identical reasons. They had allowed their girls to register for this trip but as the date grew closer the mothers became increasingly apprehensive to the point that the Thursday night preceding the departure date had been a sleepless one for them both.

In Watts we coordinated our activities through Mr. Edgar Edwards, the Minister of Education working with Mr. Leas. He had made efforts to gather some of his young people together to spend the weekend with our young people. He had not been any more successful than we had at Claremont. However, there were Negro youth with us at most meals and one young man stayed with us over Friday night; two spent Saturday night with us.

On Friday night we had dinner at a local hamburger stand with the Reverend Leas who shared his hopes and concerns regarding his

church and its ministry.

Saturday afternoon was spent touring downtown Los Angeles as a group, made up of members from both churches. We went to the top of City Hall, walked through the downtown streets looking at people, had a coke at a coffee shop, and spent some time in Pershing Square. While in Pershing Square we shared the common experience of trying to be converted by members of the Jehovah's Witnesses. The group shared its abhorrence of the vocal critics who jeered the Witnesses. This led to an interesting and productive discussion of the rights of individuals in our society. Whether it was obvious to the members of our group of Negroes and Anglos or not, we were dealing with civil rights without discussing race relations. Many points of common understandings were acknowledged.

Saturday evening was spent at the Reverend Leas' home where a group of Negro and white young people prepared and ate dinner. A number of hours was spent in discussing various items of common interest to all present. There was no structuring to this or any other discussion during the weekend.

Saturday morning was dedicated to a painting project where members from both groups contributed in various degrees to the spreading of paint over walls, floors, and upholstered furniture. The floor and furniture were not scheduled to be painted and so were not as well covered as the walls although the walls were not too well covered either.

On Sunday morning we participated in the morning services of the Immanuel church. One of the boys from Claremont led a song

session for the church school playing his guitar. We all attended the adult worship service where we were introduced and welcomed by the congregation.

The weekend should have been effective in terms of attitude change toward inclusiveness. It is interesting that although it proved to be so that it was not in the way expected. For two of our three suburban participants, the two boys in the group, the experience was remembered as disturbing and threatening to their "Christian" convictions. In a discussion a week after the trip this opinion was shared by both of them, "I was sympathetic with the civil rights struggle before. I was able to love Negroes as I felt that I should as a Christian. But now, after having met some Negroes I find that I do not love them all. I may not love any of them." Reflecting upon these statements it was this writer's conclusion that this attitude is closer to a Christian expression of love than the one they previously held. Their previous "sympathy and love" was based upon a lie. They had not met Negroes in their residential area and had assumed that Negroes were exactly as they and their suburban friends were except that Negroes had dark skin. On this basis they could empathize. Now they know individuals who are poor, excluded from many aspects of life accepted by Claremont youth as essential, resentful of much that Claremont young people have, and are Negro. This reality is not as pleasant as the lie which they had accepted before, but it was closer to the truth; and Christianity is a way to live life as it truly is, not as we think or wish it was.

The Glide Foundation, San Francisco, California: The Glide Foundation is a privately funded, Methodist oriented, urban training and experimental center for the church's mission in San Francisco. It is responsible for a great amount of creative ministry in and around the San Francisco Bay area. Our Outreach trip was intended to acquaint our young people with the vision of the city and the church's opportunity and responsibility for mission in the city exuded by those men who work with Glide.

The three qualifications for an Outreach trip were met. Glide is a definite expression of the mission of the church of Jesus Christ. Our primary contact with Glide and its various forms of ministry was through the Reverend Ed Hansen who arranged our agenda and shared extensively of his own ministry which centered in the homosexual community in the tenderloin section of downtown San Francisco. Mr. Hansen was an intern from the School of Theology at Claremont and had much in common with the young people of our group. He was our symbol of the reconciling presence of the church. The people of difference with whom we had the most contact were members of the homosexual community with whom the Reverend Hansen worked.

As was mentioned earlier, we were able to fly to and from San Francisco. As it worked out the cost of flying was only four dollars more per person than it would have cost us to drive and cost considerably fewer hours. This meant that we traveled by public transportation in and around San Francisco. Public transportation was so abundant that this presented no difficulty what-so-ever. On the

contrary, it contributed significantly to one objective of the trip, to become acquainted with the city and its people.

We were given the run of the old First Methodist Church at 1600 Clay Street, which is near the center of the downtown and entertainment sections of the city. We prepared and ate most of our meals at the church, eating in Chinatown on one occasion and at a small delicatessen on another.

The entire trip covered the span of five days. We shall not report it in detail but rather list some of the high lights of the week.

1. An evening at the apartment of the Reverend and Mrs. Hansen
2. A lecture on homosexuality by a young man preparing for his Ph.D. in the area
3. An interview with the Reverend Don Stuart, a United Churchman who ministers to the night people in the city. (His is a unique and intriguing work with much of it done in the area of suicide prevention.)
4. A discussion with the Reverend Don Kuhn who spoke of the revolution in communication and the work he is going for Glide in developing lines of communication with people across the country
5. An evening with an 18 year old male homosexual who sells himself as a male prostitute in downtown San Francisco
6. A Maundy Thursday service in the Glide Memorial Church
7. A visit to Grace Cathedral
8. A trip to the Steinhart Aquarium and the San Francisco Museum
9. A walk from the museum to the Gold Gate Bridge
10. Rides on the cable cars just to see where they go
11. Trips to tourist attractions in the city such as Chinatown,

Fisherman's Warf, North Beach, Market Street

Campus Ministry, California State College at Los Angeles,

California: The campus ministry at Cal State is part of the United Campus Christian Fellowship which is an ecumenical ministry to college students. With the cooperation of the Reverend Lynn Jondahl a program was planned that attempted to acquaint our Outreach group with many dimensions of campus life at a large state school and the role played in its life by the campus ministry. The three qualifications for our trips were met with the campus ministry representing the ministry of the church, Reverend Jondahl being the significant person in the ministry, and the many types of college students who come in contact with the campus ministry, even in just one weekend, being the group of difference.

Our Claremont group had more difficulty sensing the diversity of the college students than had been anticipated. It seemed as though the college life was not much different from life at Claremont High School. Individuals were not easily recognized by our Claremont young people as being unique persons but were rather classified under the same group titles that are used at Claremont High, i.e. "the popular crowd," "the kooks," "the squares," "the brains," and "the misfits."

Throughout our stay we had the company of two or three members of the college group who identified themselves as the campus ministry bunch. In addition we met other students from various racial and cultural backgrounds at a discussion session on Friday night at the

campus ministry house when a representative from Ghana spoke. Interviews were held with the editor of the College Times, the past and present Student Body Presidents, members of the DuBois Club representing the "New Left," a professor from the college, plus a number of opportunities to talk with the Reverend Jondahl. A visit to a fraternity party was arranged at the insistence of our group. On Sunday morning members of the campus ministry college group took our group members to their various home churches.

Our Claremont group stayed in the basement of the Campus Ministry house which is a converted home. We prepared our meals there and used the house as a base for our various outings.

Chaplaincy to the Strip, Las Vegas, Nevada: The Reverend Rick Mawson was initially assigned and supported in an experimental ministry to persons working along the Strip in Las Vegas, Nevada by the National Council of Churches. From the beginning of the experiment, however, the United Church of Christ has provided the financial needs of the ministry. Initially supported by a national Board, the Board for Homeland Ministries, support is now in the process of being assumed by the Southern California Conference of the United Church of Christ.

The Reverend Mawson began in June of 1961 as a worker-witness in the Hacienda Hotel. His ministry has developed in response to the needs which he has found along the famous gambling and entertainment section where he spends his time. Mawson says this about this ministry:

The Strip Ministry project has been best characterized as a listening ministry. It has been an attempt to know what is going on in the various sub-cultures along the Strip. Many of the persons are known to be estranged from any relationship with the organized churches by their occupation, guilt, working hours, and group mores. The constant question is, "What is God doing here and to what is He calling His people in this place?"⁴

The Reverend Mawson wears a clerical collar and spends much of his time in cocktail lounges, casinos, coffee shops, and bars making himself available to any who might need him. Although many areas of ministry are planned, such as a coffee house, the primary task of the Strip ministry now is counseling and suicide prevention.

The three qualifications for an Outreach trip were met in Las Vegas. The support of the church was seen in the relationship of the Las Vegas Protestant churches as well as the United Church of Christ and the National Council of Churches to the Strip ministry. The waitresses, dealers, musicians, dancers, and others who work along the Strip were the members of the group of difference. The Reverend Mawson was our symbol of the reconciling presence of Christ's church.

The Claremont group was housed in the basement of the Griffith Methodist Church in Las Vegas. We drove up in two cars arriving around 9:00 p.m. on Friday. We met Mr. Mawson and spent that night touring the various casinos, coffee shops, and gambling centers which he frequents. During the trips between casinos he told of various aspects of his work and the history of his relationship with each establishment in which he makes himself available and individuals he

⁴Rick Mawson, "A Christian Ministry on the Las Vegas Strip," an unpublished report.

has met in them. We were fortunate that in one casino coffee shop a waitress initiated a serious conversation concerning a friend of hers who had committed suicide. She was quite upset about it. A single encounter counseling session transpired before our eyes and in our hearing range that lasted for fifteen or twenty minutes. It was an excellent example of the ministry of presence working.

We attended a dinner show at one casino and spent most of our time there observing people on both sides of the footlights. A question and answer period followed in which the Reverend Mawson shared his views on the psychology of gambling plus dealing with the many questions raised concerning Las Vegas and his ministry.

The Church and Farm Labor, Delano and Arvin, California: An Outreach trip was planned to the San Joaquin Valley to meet participants in the grape pickers strike, laborers and growers, and investigate the part the church is playing in the dispute. Arrangements were made for us to stay at the Arvin United Church of Christ for the weekend and our coming had been cleared with the migrant ministry in Delano. On this trip a different approach to the use of the group's time was taken. The basic details were cleared in advance. No specific plans were made regarding who we would see and when. Our general intent was to meet persons involved in various aspects of the whole conflict.

After dropping off our luggage at the Arvin church we telephoned the Delano Migrant Ministry, some thirty miles north of Arvin, to let them know we were coming. We went directly to the National

Farm Workers Association headquarters in Delano and met representatives of the Migrant Ministry. After an introduction to what the National Farm Workers Association was doing and how the Migrant Ministry was involved we were invited to lunch with the strikers at the Union's compound. This experience gave us an opportunity to talk with many individuals involved in the Union side of the dispute. We met the vice president of the Union who spent a half hour telling us why he supports the Union and its strike. We met a young woman in her twenties from New York who was one of some fifty such volunteers who had paid their way to Delano to donate their summer working for the Union. She shared her views of the strike and her motivations that brought her so far. We also met another member of the Migrant Ministry staff plus various other strikers and volunteer workers.

Following lunch a call was placed to the local Methodist minister who was chairman of the Delano Minister's Association which had recently taken a position opposing the strike. He was very cooperative and immediately gave us an hour of his time to explain his view of the matter and the role of the church in the situation as he saw it. He was quite unhappy with the work of the Migrant Ministry and critical of the role of representatives from the National Council of Churches. He also took us on a tour of Delano pointing out the housing in which he believed farm laborers lived. Upon stopping to inquire from residents if farm laborers lived in the housing we learned that they did not. The time spent with the Delano Methodist minister revealed the dilemma of a church in a small agricultural

town that depends upon the growers as the mainstay of their economy. Reflecting an exclusive attitude, the Methodist minister had refused to open his eyes to certain realities that challenged his concept of his ministry.

We returned to Arvin after the meeting with the Methodist minister and relaxed and had our dinner, prepared by our own group. That evening we met the Reverend Winthrop Yinger, the minister of the Arvin United Church of Christ at that time. He provided us with a taped speech given by the president of the Growers Association meant to explain the role of grower in the American economy and the difficulties he is encountering in increased costs and outside competition. Also stressed was the importance of agriculture to the challenge of hunger in the world and the need for as many farmers and their skills as possible in the days ahead.

After listening to the tape we were invited to the Yinger's home where we became acquainted with the Reverend Yinger, his wife and family. The evening was spent in extended conversation regarding the farm labor situation and the pressures that the Yingers were feeling as a result of their open support of the grape worker's strike. His reaction was just the opposite of the Delano Methodist minister. He told of the dilemma he faced as he tried to be a pastor to his people while at the same time feeling compelled to be a prophet regarding the plight of the farm worker. He expected to lose his church in the near future.

Following Sunday services at the Arvin church a son of a local

grower took us on a tour of the DiGiorgio properties and labor camps. We met and talked with various laborers but were unable to engage them in any significant conversation. The presence of a car full of white middle class Protestants did not encourage intimate conversation. After a pleasant visit with the young man who acted as our guide and a good bye to the Yingers we returned to Claremont.

A City Chaplaincy, Downtown Los Angeles, California: The Reverend Willard Stevens has developed a ministry of presence in the downtown section of Los Angeles. Wearing a clerical collar, he moves about town pausing in bars, at coffee shops, the United Service Organization, hamburger stands, flower stalls, etc. making himself available as a human being but at the same time a human being who represents the church. The Reverend Stevens has great faith in the value of a single encounter and seeks to offer himself and all that he represents to anyone who might stop or approach him at that moment of encounter.

Various persons throughout the downtown area had agreed with the Reverend Stevens to spend some time with members of our group on the Saturday we arrived. These were all persons whom he had met during the course of his trips through the streets and business establishments in the area. Our day was occupied with conversations with a shoe shine man, a flower stall owner, a small hamburger stand operator, a woman who worked behind a tobacco counter in the lobby of a run down hotel, a pawn shop operator, and the Reverend Stevens himself. Our group members alternated with these various persons,

in between visits having time to walk around the downtown area to gain a feeling of the pulse of life in the area.

Here again was an example of the ministry of the church, this time in the person of a young Methodist minister, extended to persons of difference, the urban workers who knew the city and chose it as the area for their life's work.

Although none of the above trips was covered in detail in this summary it is hoped that the reader has gained a sense of the design of the Outreach program and an understanding of the specific trips that were undertaken as our experiments in exposure and interaction. It remains for us now to measure the effect of these experiences upon the individuals participating and the Pilgrim Fellowship group as a whole.

IV. The Measurement of Attitude Change

Resulting From Operation Outreach Experience

As was mentioned earlier, two techniques of attitude measurement were used in this experiment. The first was a Likert type opinion scale; the second was a program of personal interviews with the participants following their respective Outreach trips. We shall discuss these one at a time, directing our attention here to the opinion scale and its measurement.

Prior to the beginning of the Outreach trips a Likert type opinion scale test was devised by this writer. The statements to which the responders were asked to react were written in conjunction

with a committee composed of a graduate Ph.D. in Psychology, a campus minister who had just completed a project for a Rel.D. degree involving a similar attitude measuring device, this writer and our wives. Also suggestions were received from a committee of faculty members. (A copy of this scale is included in this paper as Appendix)

All members of the Claremont United Church of Christ Pilgrim Fellowship were asked to complete the opinion scale at a meeting on January 23, 1966 before the first Outreach trip. Twenty one Outreach Opinion Scales were completed at that meeting. Four additional scales were completed in later weeks, none by members who had either been on an Outreach trip or attended a meeting where a completed trip had been discussed. No opinion scales were completed for the "before" attitude measurement after February 25, 1966.

Following the completion of the final Outreach trip, the downtown Los Angeles outing being completed on June 25, 1966, the Pilgrim Fellowship membership was asked to complete the same opinion scale. Between July 7, 1966 and August 10, 1966 twenty eight opinion scales were completed, fourteen by persons who had completed the scale in January, seven by persons who participated in Outreach trips and had not completed an opinion scale in January, and six by persons who had neither participated in an Outreach trip or completed an opinion scale in January.

As the trips evolved and the opinion scales were completed it became obvious that certain validity checks needed to be made upon the opinion scale due to certain statements that seemed confusing to

the respondents and question of whether some statements actually measured what the scale was designed to measure.

Two validity checks were conducted upon the opinion scale. The first was to have a control group of senior high school young people take the test one week and repeat the test a week later with no experience of outreach between testings. By comparing the responses of individuals to each test it was felt that we could ascertain whether the statements were sufficiently clear to assume that a variation in response would indicate a genuine attitude change and not an ambiguity written into the scale itself.

The Senior High Sunday School Class at the Upland Methodist Church agreed to give time out of their Sunday morning class session to complete the scale for us. On Sunday, August 14, 1966 twenty two class members completed the opinion scale for us. On the next Sunday, August 21, 1966, thirteen of the twenty two were in class and took the opinion scale again. They had known that they would be asked to take another test the second Sunday but they were not aware that it would be the same test.

An arbitrary decision was made that any answer changed two spaces on the five space scale used would be considered a significant variation in response. The scores were compared by indicating by statement how many responses were the same after one week, how many had moved in either direction one space, how many two spaces, and so on to the maximum of four spaces. Three statements were above the limit of variation set by this writer and have been discarded in

our final measurement of attitude change.

The second validity check was designed to determine whether or not the statements of the opinion scale did measure the attitude of inclusiveness or exclusiveness as intended. It also checked to determine which response to the statements, strongly agree or strongly disagree was an inclusive response. A panel of five judges was selected and agreed to respond to the Judge's Response Sheet which they were given. This writer acted as one of the judges. Two senior students from the School of Theology acted as judges. A professor from the School of Theology agreed to be a judge; and a professor from the University of Puget Sound, in Claremont completing his Ph.D. in an area involving the measurement of attitude change, was the fifth judge.

On the basis of the judges responses four statements were determined to be unacceptable to measure attitude change in the direction of more or less inclusiveness. These four did not coincide with the three ruled out by the validity check for clarity so that out of a total of twenty five original statements, eighteen were determined to be acceptable for purposes of measuring attitude change with regard to inclusiveness and exclusiveness.

An inclusive attitude, as defined for the judges, is one of openness that accepts social, racial, sexual, and economic differences in persons as conditions of existence and not essentially determinators of their value. It recognizes and accepts interdependence and overlooks difference. An exclusive attitude focuses upon differences and

seeks to isolate itself from these differences. By nature of its exclusiveness it indicates a negative valuation of differences and implies a positive valuation of its own social, racial, sexual, and economic characteristics.

Of the four statements ruled out by the judges as not measuring attitudes of inclusiveness or exclusiveness two were not designed to measure these qualities but rather, the individual's attitude toward the church. These statements, plus two others in the opinion scale, sought understandings of what the subjects completing the scale thought of the church in relation to its relevance in society, the direction it should move in its activity, the relationship between the denomination and the local congregation, and freedom of its ministers to participate in social protest outside of the life of the church.

Two statements were included that did not refer to the church or to any specific experience that might have been had on an Outreach trip. They were intended to measure general attitudes toward the concept of rugged individualism that sees a man's success as a credit to him and his lack of success as indicative of his personal inadequacy.

The Operation Outreach Opinion Scale results will be evaluated a statement at a time. We have applied three methods of critical examination to the results. Using the X square test for significant difference, we have compared the total pre-Outreach scores with the total post-Outreach scores. We are testing for the effect of the Outreach program upon the total group in this instance. Using the X

square test again, we have compared the pre-Outreach scores with the post-Outreach scores of those subjects who participated in the Outreach program. We are testing here for the specific attitude change upon those subjects who were directly involved in the experiences of interaction. We are also asking if there was a predisposition towards inclusiveness on the part of those subjects who volunteered to take the trips. The third method of examination is a general overview of the direction of change in the attitudes reflected in the post-Outreach scales. We shall comment on this whether the difference is significant, according to X square, or not.

One point needs to be made before we begin analysis of the results of the opinion scale. Although twenty six persons participated in one or more of the Outreach trips, never more than seven were on any one outing. This would indicate that if interaction is necessary for attitude change that only approximately twenty per centage of the total group participated in interaction with any one group of difference during the program. Any group attitude change regarding a particular group of difference should be laid to factors within the group life resulting initially from interaction with a group of difference but magnified by interaction between the Pilgrim Fellowship group and group discussions other than within the church such as at school and with families. Because of this we shall look at the attitude change of the participants in the particular Outreach trips as revealed in the opinion scale but also particular attention will be given to the responses gained in the personal interviews.

The statements will not be listed as they appeared on the opinion scale but rather in a sequence relating to the order of the Outreach trips as they were taken. The general statements regarding individualism will be reviewed first. They will be followed by the statements relating to the first Outreach trip which was to the Peppermint Ridge Home. The final statements to be considered will be those relating to attitudes about the church. Unless otherwise noted each statement was approved as valid by both tests for validity.

General statements regarding rugged individualism in a mass society

1. If a person works hard enough he can accomplish whatever he sets out to do.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	6	11	1	7	0
After	7	11	1	7	2
Outreach Participants					
Before	3	6	1	4	0
After	4	9	1	4	2

The X square test for significant difference indicated no difference of significance in these two responses. There is, in fact, an amazing balance on this statement before and after. The decision of the judges was that a movement toward an inclusive attitude would have been toward the strongly disagree response. The significant

aspect of this scoring is the lack of attitude change. Noting this the writer asked six respondents following their completion of the opinion scale in the post-Outreach testing who they had in mind when they responded to the statement. In all six instances the response was that they were thinking of themselves.

The heavy balance toward the exclusive response and the consistency in response may indicate that the interaction experiences of the project did not touch a basic precept of an affluent society which is that, "we deserve what we have." It might also point to the American esteem for rugged individualism, particularly as expressed in the heart of conservative America, the suburbs. It could also reflect an abstract concept accepted as truth, by most members of the exclusive group culture that is not questioned or effected by reality.

13. There are forces in society that do not allow some people to succeed no matter how hard they try.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	6	14	1	3	1
After	9	12	5	2	
Outreach Participants					
Before	5	8	0	0	1
After	6	9	4	1	0

The X square test for significant difference indicated no

difference of significance in either set of responses. Again this opposite statement of the concept of rugged individualism reflects a marked tendency not to change. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that the judges determined that the answer reflecting an inclusive attitude was the strongly agree side of the scale. When asked who they were thinking of when answering this statement the same six people responded identically that they were now thinking of others such as minority race members, etc. We are unable to grasp the full implications of this apparent contradiction of norms other than to say that in the reality which these young people know, i.e. suburban living, the norm of rugged individualism is accepted and thus they accept it. It may be, as we found in the response to Negroes in Watts mentioned earlier, that the others for whom these young people sympathize are not real to them and therefore are easily excused for their lack of sameness with the suburban norm. If this is true, in a real conflict of norms outside of a superordinate norm they would revert to the norm of reality to them which is basically exclusive, i.e. rugged individualism.

Peppermint Ridge Children's Home

2. A family with a mentally retarded member should try to keep him with it at home rather than placing him in an institution.

This statement was judged to be ambiguous by the judges and not valid as a measurement of an inclusive or exclusive attitude. The responses will be shown for general interest, however no conclusions will be drawn regarding the responses.

Results: Strongly Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group Before	1	3	9	7	5
After	2	7	7	8	4

Outreach Participants Before	1	2	5	3	3
After	1	6	5	6	2

11. I would be just as willing to hug a mentally retarded child as a normal child.

Results: Strongly Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group Before	7	9	6	3	0
After	7	15	5	0	1

Outreach Participants Before	3	5	5	1	0
After	4	12	3	0	1

The X square test indicated no significant difference on the total group score, but with a slight significance hinted in the Outreach participant score of between .50 and .30. This is admittedly weak evidence of change as a result of the interaction experience upon all those who had Outreach experiences. The results were more impressive on the score for those six respondents who were a part of the Peppermint Ridge outing. Of the six, two with strongly agree

scores kept their same response. Three of the six moved toward the inclusive side, which was strongly agree, by one column. One respondent moved away from the inclusive response from agree to undecided.

Divorce Court and the Woodland Hills Community Church

4. Most people who seek counseling help could solve their own problems if they tried.

Results: Strongly Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group					
Before	1	4	5	13	2
After	0	6	7	11	3
Outreach Participants					
Before	0	2	3	8	1
After	0	4	5	7	3

Statistically there is no significant change in these responses. As a group, those subjects who went to Woodland Hills split their response with two moving toward the inclusive response, which was strongly disagree, and two moving away from it. There seemed to be no effect in either direction as a result of the interaction in Woodland Hills regarding this statement. We do note that the total group response, both before and after the Outreach trips, is strongly on the inclusive side. It may be that counseling is not an experience of difference for suburban residents and that they can identify with individuals needing counseling as a result of their personal

acquaintance with psychiatrists, pastoral counselors, or friends and family who use these services.

10. People who are divorced are more likely to fail in other areas of their life also.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	0	5	2	11	7
After	0	10	4	10	4
Outreach Participants					
Before	0	4	2	5	3
After	0	5	4	7	4

There was no significant difference noted in the X square tests.

The strongly disagree response was judged to be the inclusive response. There was little movement in either direction that might indicate a change of attitude. The increase from five to ten on the total group score in the agree column is interesting but is not reflected by those who went on the trip to Woodland Hills. Their scores remained exactly the same before and after the trips.

We might again elude to the reasoning used regarding the last statement. Divorce is such a real part of the suburban scene that there does not seem to have been a group of difference confronted in the Divorce Court-Woodland Hills outing. Attitudes are not challenged when a group of difference is not encountered. Interaction occurred but it was between two groups who shared the same social constructs.

16. Seeking counseling help from a minister is comparable to seeking medical help from an M.D.

Results: Strongly Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group Before	1	10	2	7	5
After	2	14	4	5	3

Outreach Participants Before	1	6	1	3	3
After	0	11	3	3	3

There was no statistical significance to the before and after responses. The judges ruled this statement out on the basis that it did not measure inclusiveness or exclusiveness.

19. There are good marriages but no marriage satisfies each partner completely.

Results: Strongly Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group Before	4	4	5	7	5
After	0	7	10	5	6

Outreach Participants Before	3	2	3	3	3
After	0	5	7	3	5

There was some indication of significance on the X square table of critical values. Both the total group and the participant

group proved significant on the .30 level. This is not proof of conclusive difference but given the understanding, previously stated, that the percentage of persons involved in interaction is small, this level of change gains in significance.

The judges determined that the inclusive side of the scale was strongly agree. We therefore have a movement toward the exclusive side of the scale. Marriage, as such, was never discussed in the Outreach trip to Woodland Hills or in meetings of the Pilgrim Fellowship during the period that the Outreach program was being carried out.

The Upland Methodist young people's responses varied significantly with a week's time on this particular statement leading us to discount the value of the responses. They are interesting to ponder, however no conclusions will be made regarding the influence of the Outreach trips upon this particular attitude, an attitude which seems more immature than exclusive.

Immanuel United Church of Christ

15. I would prefer not to live next door to Negroes

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	0	1	6	9	9
After	0	0	9	11	8
Outreach Participants					
Before	0	0	3	6	5
After	0	0	5	10	5

The X square test for significant difference showed no difference in the before and after responses of either group.

A strongly inclusive attitude was found in the responders both before and after the Outreach program. We notice with interest the increase in the undecided column in both after results. It could result from the addition of opinion scale results from subjects not measured in the first testing or it could reflect the attitude reported earlier by the two boys who spent a weekend with the Outreach program in Watts. Their movement was from idealistic inclusivism to qualified inclusivism.

23. Negroes have suffered so much that it is fair to expect white people to sacrifice so that Negroes can gain equal rights.

Results: Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group					
Before	5	5	3	7	5
After	0	12	8	4	4
Outreach Participants					
Before	4	3	2	3	2
After	0	9	5	4	2

The X square test indicated a significant difference in both the total and participant groups. The table of critical values shows the total group significant beyond the .10 level and the participant group significant between the .10 and .20 levels. Reviewing the opinion scales we see that the significant movement was toward the

inclusive, but it is interesting to note some shift from strongly agree to agree.

The participants in the Outreach trip to Watts showed attitude change by two respondents moving from the disagree column to the agree column, a major jump of two columns. The third participant was not available for the second testing but had recorded a disagree response on the first testing.

The pattern of response on statement #23 is interesting when compared to that of statement #15. On the first testing there was a strong inclusive attitude reflected on #15 but an ambiguous response recorded on #23. If anything, #23 showed a stronger balance toward the exclusive response of strongly disagree. Following the Outreach program the inclusive response is still strong on #15 and an inclusive pattern is developing on #23. There is still ambiguity shown, however. There are more responses in the inclusive side of the scale on the second testing but not one respondent felt that he could strongly agree with the statement when five had felt so inclined on the first testing.

One explanation for this pattern of responses is that the Outreach program had brought some individuals and the group as a whole into a more realistic understanding of differences that exist between the suburban white middle class and the urban black lower class. It is encouraging to note that the recognition of difference was compatible with the youth group norm to the extent that the general attitude change was in an inclusive direction.

One other interpretation of the responses to statement #15 and #23 is that it is easy for high school students to express inclusive attitudes toward integrated housing because the threats to an exclusive community represented by residential integration are not as real to the teenagers as they are to their parents. The teenage suburbanite has not invested his identity as heavily in real estate as has the adult. Nor is the prospect of inter-racial marriage threatening to them. This is understood more clearly in the light of the response to statement #19 which reflected an idealistic view of marriage and marital relationships. The responses to #23, however, tend to involve the high school respondent in the answer, for the statement speaks of white people suffering for the benefit of Negroes. The prospect of suffering is more real to him than is the ambiguous adult value system. This being true, we could expect to receive a less inclusive response on statement #23.

Our assumptions of exclusive and inclusive group identifications refer to basic personal identity systems. These responses illustrate that there are various identity structures with the norm of the exclusive community which differ in their specific expression. The different expressions here are between age groups. There could also be varied expressions of the exclusive norm between sexes, various vocational groups, and groups of varied educational levels.

The Glide Foundation

3. I could not respect a person who is homosexual.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	0	4	15	5	1
After	0	0	7	12	9
Outreach Participants					
Before	0	1	10	2	1
After	0	0	6	8	6

The table of critical values for the X square test showed that the differences in the before and after responses on this statement were significant beyond doubt. The total group score was beyond the .01 level and the participant group score between the .05 and .10 levels. The movement of scores for the subjects who went to San Francisco was all toward the inclusive response which was strongly disagree.

There seem to be two reasons for this significant attitude change toward an inclusive group norm, the content and duration of the Outreach trip and the absence of a clearly expressed earlier attitude toward homosexuality by the suburban group.

There is no question but that homosexuality is considered a difference to be viewed negatively by the family oriented heterosexual suburb. It may be that homosexuality is so abhorrent as to have assumed the dimension of a taboo. As such it is not a subject discussed in the open in the suburban society. Individuals who are homosexual struggle to keep their secret hidden. We are reminded of

the Walter Jenkins case in national affairs where he was "exposed" as a security risk because he was vulnerable to blackmail. It seems, however, that there was no predisposed positive or negative attitude on the part of young people toward homosexuality. We can assume that the reason for this neutral attitude does not reflect adult neutrality but rather adult silence. As a taboo subject it was not dealt with in the open. What we have, then, is an area of opinion not spoken to directly by the exclusive group in which the inclusive group, the church represented by the Glide Foundation and those within the Claremont United Church who organized and sponsored the interaction experience, has established a norm of inclusion, openness, and understanding. There were fewer preconceptions to work through on the part of the participants in the San Francisco trip. They were thus able to move to a point of shared human identity more quickly. This shared identity placed against the background of the oppression homosexuals endure in our society, made graphically real in the conditions and personalities encountered in San Francisco, seems to have moved the participants to a position of strong inclusiveness.

The second reason that may have contributed to a significant movement on the issue of homosexuality from neutral exclusive to strongly inclusive was the fact that the visit to the Glide Foundation was for five days as opposed to the two day pattern of the other outings. This longer length of time allowed the participant group to become more established in its identity as it shared many experiences

of interest and pleasure. The longer stay allowed for more opportunity to think through the issues raised by the persons of difference encountered, both as a group and as individuals. This experience would suggest that the longer the experience of interaction, the greater the attitude change toward the inclusive.

One other interesting aspect of the group score is the significant difference between its before and after scores. Recognizing that only seven members of the group participated in the San Francisco outing the attitude change of the entire group indicates that the reporting and informal sharing of the participants was effective in changing the non-participant's attitudes also. Three reasons are suggested for this change: (1) the fact that homosexuality is a taboo subject which encourages persons to discuss it when they are of the opinion that they are justified, i.e. supported by their group's norms, in that discussion; (2) the fact that the participants were enthusiastic in their support of the cause of the friends they made in San Francisco who were homosexual or who supported the homosexual cause; (3) the fact that the whole experience in San Francisco was exciting and one which the participants were eager to share and about which friends were eager to hear.

21. We should welcome a person who is homosexual into our group just as we would one who is heterosexual.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	4	10	10	1	0
After	9	12	5	2	0

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Outreach Participants					
Before	4	4	6	0	0
After	5	9	4	2	0

The test for significant difference did not show either set of responses to demonstrate such difference. The judges were mixed in their decision as to whether or not this statement measured inclusive or exclusive attitudes. The decision was three to two that the statement was valid with the inclusive response being strongly agree. The problem seems to be in the second part of the statement. It could be interpreted to mean that differences of sexual orientation are recognized and not considered as important in determining who is or is not welcomed into the high school youth group, or it could mean that the differences were denied and thus the uniqueness of a person, which surely would include his sexual orientation, would be denied. With this ambiguity in mind we cannot use the results as effectively as we might had the statement been better written. We include the results for the general interest of the reader, therefore, but will not draw upon them to support or disprove our initial hypothesis.

Campus Ministry

20. College students agitating for social change are not using their college time well.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	1	6	7	7	4

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
After	0	4	8	11	4
Outreach Participants					
Before	1	5	3	2	3
After	0	2	4	9	4

The X square test revealed no significant difference in the total group scores, however there was a significant difference among those individuals who participated in the Outreach program. The level of significance on the table of critical values was between .10 and .05 for this group.

It is interesting that the persons who went to California State to be with the campus ministry did not show any major attitude change on this statement. The two columns used to respond by the campus ministry participants were agree and strongly disagree. The responses fell evenly within these two columns on the before and after testing. It was mentioned earlier that the Claremont young people did not recognize a difference between the college students and themselves. An example of this was their unwillingness to take the members of the DuBois Club seriously when they pled their cause for social justice. This lack of recognized difference is cited as the main reason for the absence of attitude change on #20 by those involved with college students agitating for social change.

How then do we explain the significant attitude change on the part of the Outreach participants as a whole? This change seems to

represent a general movement toward inclusiveness with regard for all activity in support of social issues resulting from the confrontation of the reality of social issues in many areas. For those who participated in an Outreach trip that took them to Watts, or Delano, or San Francisco, for example, statement #20 would not be interpreted only as a question of the use of time by a college student but would refer to a specific and real issue and to specific and real people whom they know. For them, then, the question is one of the value of time in terms of their relationship to others and to themselves. It may be that interaction places education in a new perspective, one that places emphasis upon the use of time in terms of its value for all men, not just for one's self. For the people who have not had the opportunity to interact with the real people social issues are about, the question of college time centers upon grades and the personal rewards a college education can provide.

The next statement reviewed, #5, was judged not to measure inclusiveness by the judges by a three to two vote. Seen in the context of the interpretation of #20, however, this writer suggests that it may measure a dimension of inclusiveness, even though it may be subtle. The statement is not a good one, however, because of its subtlety.

5. The greatest value of a college education is that it increases the opportunities for getting a well paying job after graduation.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	Agree			

Total Group Before	3	6	2	8	6
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Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
After	3	6	2	11	6
Outreach Participants					
Before	3	5	1	2	3
After	1	5	1	8	4

The X square test showed no significant change on the part of the total group with a minor change of significance for the Outreach participants rating approximately .40 on the table of critical value. This statement is further confused by the Upland validity test which showed a greater than average fluctuation between the first and second testing in that validity check. We shall not attempt to use these results to substantiate or repudiate the original hypothesis.

Chaplaincy to the Strip

6. I think gambling should be legalized because people will gamble anyway.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	0	4	3	13	5
After	1	6	12	7	2
Outreach Participants					
Before	0	1	3	7	3
After	1	3	11	4	1

The X square test shows the total group difference to be significant at the .20 level. The participant group difference was significant between the .05 and .10 levels. The judges determined that the inclusive side of the scale was strongly agree. On this basis the participants in the Las Vegas Outreach trip moved toward the inclusive norm in three of five recorded responses with the remaining two maintaining their original scores.

During the Las Vegas experience the Reverend Mawson spent his time exposing us to his counseling ministry. He did not speak to the ethical question of gambling and the effects of gambling upon persons and communities. There was thus no specific position identified in the minds of the participants regarding gambling that represented the church's norm. The absence of any discussion of the question added to by the obvious openness to individuals who make their living from the gambling industry could very well have indicated a norm of acceptance and possibly, approval by the absence of disapproval.

It is interesting to note that the movement in attitudes was largely from a position of disagree to undecided. The lack of a definite group norm from either the exclusive community or from the church may account for this. This writer suspects that the initial disagreement with the statement resulted from an attitude based upon a norm assumed to be held by the church. This assumption may well be correct but it was not affirmed by the Strip Ministry.

We have been making the assumption that inclusive attitudes are to be preferred over exclusive attitudes. The responses to

statement #6 raise another dimension to the question. It would seem more inclusive to accept gambling. We must recognize, however, that inclusiveness regarding all behavior is not the norm of the church. The norm of the church is the life and ministry of Jesus Christ which is open to all persons but does find it necessary to exclude some behavior by persons from its norm of acceptance. This exclusion, based upon the church's understanding of what is the most just and loving activity for the most people, may identify gambling as a destructive force in society and injurious to many people. If this is the case, such behavior should be excluded from society. Our study is not one of ethical judgements, however, so that we will not consider this dimension of these responses. What is valuable to our study is that the attitudes of the participants were influenced in an inclusive direction.

18. Individuals who work in the gambling industry are less desirable than those working in the electronics industry.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	0	4	7	13	0
After	1	2	10	10	5
Outreach Participants					
Before	0	2	4	8	0
After	0	1	7	8	4

The test for significant difference showed that the total

group registered a .20 level on the table of critical value which is moderately significant. There was difference of note on the score of the participant group. The judges determined that the strongly disagree response was the most inclusive possible.

Although this response data does not seem to be conclusive in any direction it is of some interest that the total group did register some change of note toward the inclusive norm. There was a slight movement toward strongly disagree on the part of the subjects who made up the Las Vegas outing. Their initial scores were balance toward the inclusive side of the scale on the first testing, however. The greater change of attitude among the larger group may be attributed to the same phenomenon we saw in the San Francisco trip, that is, the trip was unusual and exciting which caused the participants to share their experiences informally and broadly when they returned. The predominant acceptance of individuals in the gambling industry demonstrated by the Reverend Mawson was the single most outstanding feature of his ministry. It appears that this attitude was communicated.

The Church and Farm Labor

9. Most migrant agricultural workers are incapable of doing work that requires more than minimum intelligence.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group Before	0	6	6	7	6
After	0	2	11	11	4

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Outreach Participants					
Before	0	4	2	4	4
After	0	1	7	9	3

The difference between the before and after responses for the total group was not significant. The difference for the participant group registered at the .20 level on the table of critical values, however. This is not a great change but is worthy of note.

Both scorings showed a tendency to move toward the more inclusive response of strongly disagree. Again we point to the interaction experience as having had some influence upon the participants, directly changing their attitudes toward the inclusive norm. There may also be some evidence that the whole group moved slightly toward the inclusive end of the scale. This total group change is probably due to the effect of many experiences of interaction by the Outreach participants rather than a change of attitude by persons who did not participate in the Outreach program. If so, then the change reflected is not necessarily just from the Delano trip (although the participants in this experience all moved toward an inclusive answer on their opinion scale responses), but reflects a general acceptance of the value of persons of difference gained from other Outreach trips as well.

25. The children of migrant workers should be allowed to drop out of school earlier than other children so that they can help their families earn a living in the fields.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Total Group					
Before	0	3	1	11	10
After	1	3	3	14	7
Outreach Participants					
Before	0	1	1	6	6
After	0	1	3	11	5

Neither the total group nor the participant group differed to a degree measurable statistically. One reason for the consistently high inclusive scoring on this statement may be the general high regard for education shared by the students who make up the Pilgrim Fellowship. Drop outs are understood to be failures who are making a tragic mistake by leaving school. They are quick to see that no one should drop out of school for any reason. This response does not necessarily reflect an inclusive attitude toward farm laborers.

One young girl who went on the Delano trip changed her response on this statement from strongly disagree to agree. When asked why, she responded that she was depressed by the poverty of the farm labor families and felt that anything that could be done to help relieve it should be done even if it meant taking the children out of school. Had she had more than two days to spend in Delano she may have understood the problem of perpetuated poverty due to the lack of education; but based upon the brief exposure she experienced and her line of reasoning, her second response was one that accepted the

difference of the farm laborer and was concerned for him. Under the circumstances this is an inclusive response. What was needed was other opportunities to face the reality of the life of the farm laborer so that her sympathy might be directed toward the real needs of these persons.

A City Chaplaincy

7. Most men on skid row are so far gone that they cannot be helped.

Results: Strongly Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group Before	0	3	3	10	9
After	0	2	3	15	8

Outreach Participants Before	0	3	1	4	6
After	0	0	3	11	6

The total group showed no significant difference according to the X square test. The participant group recorded a .20 level on the table of critical values. The judges determined that a strongly disagree answer was the inclusive end of the scale.

It would appear here that we have an example of the same type of response as we just saw to statement #9. The participant group reflect inclusive attitudes as a result of this particular Outreach experience and also because of the other experiences they have had with persons of difference with whom they now identify.

Unfortunately the opinion scale was made up before the details of the downtown Los Angeles trip were firmed up. There are therefore no statements that would measure the specific experience of urban exposures that comprised the outing.

General statements regarding attitudes toward the church

There were four statements included in the opinion scale intended to measure attitudes toward the church. They will be listed in the order of their ascending importance.

24. The work of the Conferences of the United Church of Christ is just as important as the work of local congregations.

Results:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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Total Group					
Before	2	8	13	2	0
After	5	11	9	1	1
Outreach Participants					
Before	1	5	6	2	0
After	4	7	6	1	1

There was no significant change in either group's second scale scores. There does seem to be a movement toward acknowledging the importance of the Conferences but the change in attitudes was not marked. We can assume that even though a number of the experimental ministries which were visited were supported by Conference funds that this fact did not influence the participants. It seems that attitudes are mostly influenced by individual persons and their relationships

to other persons. The fact of financial support is real but not recognized as any more than a source of funds to be used for the real work of ministry which is person to person.

22. On some issues a minister should protest publicly, picket lines, marches, etc., to show others where he stands.

Results: Strongly Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group Before	1	8	5	6	5
After	4	10	7	6	1

Outreach Participants Before	1	5	3	4	1
After	3	9	5	3	0

Neither group score difference was statistically significant. There was a observable increase in the agree columns for both groups however, following the Outreach trips. This tends to reflect an acceptance of the expression of positions on social issues by ministers. We might guess that had one of the experiences involved an actual demonstration or march that definite attitude changes would have resulted.

17. While church is alright for some people many would do just as well if it did not exist.

Results: Strongly Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group Before	3	9	2	6	4
After	2	11	5	9	1

doubtful if many viewing the situation at a glance, as so many do, see any connection between what is valuable in today's world and past Christian influences at all.

8. Church membership would mean more to me if the Church were more actively involved in social issues.

Results: Strongly Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

Total Group					
Before	3	7	4	10	1
After	7	13	7	1	0
Outreach Participants					
Before	3	4	4	3	0
After	6	11	3	0	0

The X square test for significant difference indicated that both groups recorded significant change. The table of critical value reading for the total group was between .02 and .05. The table reading for the Outreach group was between .10 and .20.

The movement is obviously toward the agree end of the scale. This statement and its responses seem, to this writer, to be of great significance in our search for a strategy for the church. If, as suggested in an earlier chapter, the church must establish its identity as an inclusive group with a norm of mission, then these results indicate that interaction between groups of difference, with the church as the institution providing superordinate goals, can be effective in establishing that identity. As a result of the interaction experiences in areas where the church is at work in the world,

our subjects came to the opinion that the church would become more important in their lives if it became more active in the issues of the world involving persons in need. Social issues became known as persons in society with special needs were observed. The church was seen as having more meaning if it became more active in meeting the needs of those people in society. Instead of being an anonymous threat, Negroes in Watts became people like John, and Lulu, and Willie, persons we know and call our friends. The same is true with the mentally retarded, persons with problems of social or psychological adjustment, homosexuals, entertainers and waitresses in Las Vegas, farm laborers in central California, city dwellers in Los Angeles.

V. General Conclusions

Based Upon Attitude Measurements

Two statements, #12 and #14, were judged invalid and did not have any significant relationship to the Outreach trips and were therefore not reproduced in our evaluations above. Out of the original twenty five statements then, twenty were determined to be valid, three were ruled out by the panel of judges as not measuring inclusiveness and two others were ruled out by ambiguity reflected in the Upland Methodist high school group's control scores.

A breakdown on the twenty statements used to measure attitude change follows:

Numbers	Degree of Movement	Balanced Toward
1	None	Exclusive
19	Slight	Exclusive

Numbers	Degree of Movement	Balanced Toward
17	None	Neither--even balance
13	None	Inclusive
4	None	Inclusive
10	None	Inclusive
11	Slight	Inclusive
15	Slight	Inclusive
21	Slight	Inclusive
20	Slight	Inclusive
25	Slight	Inclusive
24	Slight	Inclusive
22	Slight	Inclusive
23	Significant	Inclusive
6	Significant	Inclusive
18	Significant	Inclusive
9	Significant	Inclusive
7	Significant	Inclusive
3	Strong	Inclusive
8	Strong	Inclusive

An interpretation of the criteria used in determining the classification for the degree of movement column follows:

None There was no movement of scores found in a comparison of the results of the opinion scales completed in January and those completed in August.

Slight A comparison of scores revealed no statistical difference but a movement was observable based upon rational observation.

Significant There was statistical basis for determining a difference ranging between the scores of .20 to .05 on the table of critical values for the X square test.

Strong There was statistical basis for determining a difference with scores of .05 or less on the table of critical values for the X square test.

On the basis of this data we can conclude that there is a definite movement of attitudes toward the inclusive side of the opinion scales used. Recognizing the limitations of the instrument

used to measure attitudes and attitude changes, this writer never the less ventures to claim that the Operation Outreach Opinion Scale results give support to the original hypothesis.

We can claim that interaction with groups of difference, which include persons ministering in the name of Jesus Christ and those persons to whom they are ministering, by suburban church goers does change the attitude of the suburban participant toward inclusiveness. We also noted that in certain instances that members of the suburban church group who have not participated in such interaction can also be influenced in an inclusive direction. This seems to be true only when the exclusive norm is unclear or not emphasized, however.

We also noted that persons willing to volunteer to participate in experiences of interaction consistently score less over all attitude change than the group as a whole. This is a reflection of the fact that those persons who participate begin with a more inclusive attitude than those who choose not to participate. Their position following interaction is more inclusive than that with which they began but their movement of attitude has been less.

One other observation was made. Attitudes are changed with regard to specific issues that affect specific people. Generalities regarding inclusive or exclusive norms continue to be subscribed to, indicated by the response to statement #1, while specific attitudes accepted regarding specific people may contradict the generality. We refer to this phenomenon as the generality lag. Attitudes are changed in regard to real situations, real people, real experience. Generalities expressing these specific attitudes follow real experience. We

suspect that the changing of generalities is the final act performed when changing one's group identification from exclusive to inclusive or vice versa. It is a form of public pronouncement of group identification reflecting an inner struggle with one's attitude towards real people in conditions of difference.

CHAPTER V

VERBAL INTERVIEWS WITH OUTREACH PARTICIPANTS

As was mentioned earlier, verbal interviews were also conducted with the Outreach participants. We shall now present information of significance, in the mind of this writer, that was gained through these interviews. The interviews will not be used to substantiate the original hypothesis although they do prove consistent with its conclusions. The interviews are presented to provide further understanding as to what happened, in the words of the participants, during and after the Outreach trips as a result of these experiences.

Outreach participants were interviewed and asked three general questions: (1) What did you expect to find before you went? (2) What do you remember most vividly from the weekend experience? Why?, and (3) What have you learned from the experience? After the third question has been answered to the student's satisfaction he is asked to comment on what he has learned about the three following subjects, providing that he has not dealt with as yet: others, self, and the church. We shall review the interviews in the same sequence in which we reviewed the statements of the opinion scale, i.e. beginning with the first expedition and going through to the last. Responses will be listed and this writer's comments will follow. Because of the extent of the material gathered all comments are not listed, although an attempt is made to make those reproduced an accurate representation of the variety of responses.

Following each listed response there will appear a letter.

Each respondent has been given a letter. Where ever his comments are included his letter identifies his remarks.

Peppermint Ridge Children's Home

What did you expect to find before you went?

"I wasn't sure. I was not afraid of them but I was afraid that I couldn't get along with them the way I do with normal kids. I wanted them to like me more than I was concerned with my liking them." (A)

"I expected a bunch of kids slower than we are. I had never known mentally retarded children before. I didn't expect to find them so human. I didn't expect to find them as badly retarded as they were." (B)

"I expected to find an organization but instead I found people." (C)

"I misunderstood at first. I thought it was going to be a work project. I didn't know it was going to be with mentally retarded children. When I found out I was scared. I didn't know what to expect. After the first night I was glad, I like playing with small kids." (D)

What do you remember most vividly from the weekend? Why?

"Kenny! He was a cute little boy. He gets jazzed over air-planes. He is a boy who is fund to be with. I remember him because he liked me and he understood that I liked him." (A)

"I found out about (the adult leader). He is an OK guy. Most adults are measured to my parents. To my pleasure I found that all adults are not like my parents. He played football with us and other fun games. I could be myself." (B)

"I remember getting to know the other members of our group. Also the little boy, Kenny, because he was in a dream world. He was so cute and had pretty eyes." (C)

"Walking through the door and seeing John, he repulsed me at first. He was talkative and amiable though, so I accepted him. I remember the picnic too. I got to know John better." (E)

"Rolling rocks down the hill and building the foundation for the sign. I liked working outside doing something tangible." (F)

What have you learned from the experience?

"I learned that I can do something for someone else without thinking of myself first. We were doing it for them, not ourselves. Now, maybe, I am growing up. Everything has been given to me but now I know that I can give." (A)

"I didn't learn much about the church. I guess I was it for a while though." (B)

"I learned patience and understanding because of the demands of Johnny. I couldn't be a child because he wouldn't understand." (B)

"I learned that you can communicate with some mentally retarded children and not with others." (D)

"I learned to get along better with people that I didn't know. I usually get moody with people after awhile. All the time we were there we were relaxed and had fun." (C)

"The church didn't seem to be doing much, just giving money and helping keep the place open." (E)

"I felt affirmed by the fact that there were good Christian people like the Jeffreys." (E)

"I learned that the church is in the field, i.e. helping mentally retarded children, but I still don't see what they are doing." (E)

From the statements of what the participants expected to find we can see that there was some apprehension about being with people of difference. In each response there can be found some new understanding about mentally retarded children, however. This occurred through meeting and being with the children as individuals. The interaction experience made the children real to the suburban youngsters, "I did not expect to find them so human." It also

confronted them with the reality of mental retardation and the tragic condition of a small child who will never be able to grow out of his condition.

A finding that was proved true in every Outreach trip was that the participants all bring their hidden agendas with them. The experience of being together for forty eight hours, sleeping, eating, playing, and working, allows much of these agendas to come forth. Thus we have one participant work through a parental problem by finding another adult with whom she can be herself. Another acknowledges mental retardation and the work of the Home but is most impressed by how the group from Claremont gets along and how she deals with her own primary concern which is whether or not she is liked and can get along with a group for any period of time without rejecting them by going into a mood of depression.

The church as an institution was not very real to the participants. With a sharp perception of what commitment is in an affluent society one boy (E) says, ". . .all they are doing is giving money." Another was aware that the church supported the Home but reflected the same perception, although not as clear to him. He still doesn't see what they (the church) are going. One participant, (B) caught the insight of the meaning of being the church when she said, "I guess I was it for awhile."

A real condition of human existence was confronted that is not often seen in the suburb. Real people are giving themselves to the care and love of these retarded boys. The boys were known as real

persons, not just part of a great anonymous group called the mentally retarded. Somehow, not clearly understood, the church was a part of this ministry to these boys who need care. Attitudes about themselves, others of difference and the mission of the church were being molded in the minds and spirits of the participants as a result of their experience at Peppermint Ridge.

Divorce Court and the Woodland Hills Community Church

What did you expect to find before you went?

"I expected Divorce Court to be more dramatic than it was. After television presentations with people yelling, etc., the real thing seemed kind of dull." (G)

"I didn't know what to expect." (F)

"I had heard a lot about Akita, group therapy, and stuff like that but I didn't know what would happen." (H)

"I didn't know what to expect. I thought of it as a new experience and I wanted to have an open mind. I expected to learn something and to see something new." (I)

What do you remember most vividly about the weekend? Why?

"Myrna! I remember how she told us all about herself. She was very friendly, very frank. She wanted to help us in small ways." (G)

"Listening to Myrna is what I think of first. I think of the hardships she had been through and still she was able to hope because of her therapy group." (H)

"Myrna! I always think of her when I think of Woodland Hills because she was so honest." (I)

"I remember the talk we had with those two ladies. Myrna was very open. It caused me to respect her. I wouldn't think one would want to talk about her past with one like that. It wasn't very happy. My respect is based on her honesty." (F)

"Honesty! I remember most the way people were and how they

related to each other in honest personal ways." (I)

"Seeing A Thousand Clowns." (H)

"The movies made the weekend more enjoyable. A Thousand Clowns dealt with honesty." (F)

"I think of the group we went with too. I have a feeling of getting to know kids better outside of school. Because I was with them all the time I got to know them as real people. You can't put up a front all of the time. The things we said and the way we expressed ourselves helped me learn how and why we express ourselves as we do." (I)

"I remember the little girl in Divorce Court. She seemed lost when her parents went up before the judge. It was a more intense concern that I felt than the open emotion T.V. has." (G)

What have you learned from the experience?

"When you see a person you can't tell about them until you get a chance to know her or him." (G)

"Honesty is a great part of a person's being, existence. If you are honest with yourself you can be a better person." (I)

"I learned what can happen in therapy when people can talk to each other and solve each other's problems." (H)

"Others are different from me. They are confusing and seem irrational." (I)

"I began to realize the problems other people have and mine began to grow smaller." (G)

"Before we went to Woodland Hills I felt that it wouldn't matter whether I was a part of our Pilgrim Fellowship group or not. Afterwards I felt a part of the group, as if I was needed. Someone cares whether you are there or not, not anyone in particular but the whole group." (G)

"I see the church struggling to become active. It isn't satisfied to be only a Sunday experience. The Woodland Hills Church has a real outreach in their therapy, drama, and Akita groups." (I)

"The church is to counsel people and help them solve their problems." (H)

"I learned that the church has many activities for many different needs." (G)

There is an attitude of openness revealed in the comments of the participants in this trip regarding what they expected of the experience. This same openness or expectation was not uncommon on the part of most persons making these trips. When people expect to learn and are eager to gain new understandings the chances of this happening are far greater than if they anticipate a dull experience or set themselves against the prospect of learning. In many ways the Woodland Hills Church is much like the Claremont Church. Yet by visiting Woodland Hills and Divorce Court we hoped to create an anticipation, a sense of adventure, an openness that would allow more learning and attitude change than could be expected if we spent the same amount of time talking to people in the Claremont Church.

A dominant note comes through the interviews regarding this trip, the recognition of the value of honesty in personal relationships and with one's self. This was most dramatically conveyed through one person, Myrna. She shared her experiences openly and told of the freedom she found when she was able to face herself honestly.

For two participants the experience within the group meant a great deal. One girl said she now felt, ". . .as if I was needed." Another felt the value of getting to know each other "as real people." There was a pervading openness and acceptance found in the life of the Woodland Hills congregation that gave direction for our

own group interaction. An open and affirming group experience was not unique to this trip but the koinonia attitude of the Woodland Hills Church was recognized and experienced in our group.

A concept of the mission of the church was communicated to the participants. It was realized in the specialized counseling ministry of this congregation. There was thus a tendency for them to think of the whole mission of the church in these terms, terms reflected in the one comment by (H), "The church is to counsel people and help them solve their problems." A concept of the church's whole mission was not gained but a direction of outreach that dominated the life of this particular church was an important part in beginning to understand the task of mission which is the church's to perform.

Immanuel United Church of Christ

What did you expect to find before you went?

"I expected conditions to be better." (J)

"I expected to find a much poorer class Negro than I saw." (I)

"I tried not to expect anything. I have never had any relation with Negroes before. I don't think I have ever known any." (E)

"I expected to feel more friendship for individuals than I did." (J)

"I expected to gain an understanding of why people were prejudiced." (I)

What do you remember most vividly from the weekend? Why?

"It was not a happy experience, rather a nightmare. This reflects upon the people we met and myself. I remember what happened inside of me. I expected everyone to be nice, well

dressed, wanting to get together with us. I got pain when I had to accept the fact that I didn't like them. By them I mean Lulu particularly, and Willie and Butch too." (J)

"I remember an impression of young people who are kind of stupid. I didn't want to get that impression. Environment has a lot to do with it. The atmosphere was not very good." (E)

"The feeling of 'so what!' I had a conversation with (E) and the conclusion we came to was, why try. No matter what we do or how hard we try, it won't be significant. I can't answer the question of why. We were talking about society. I wanted to do something but I didn't have the answers. I wanted to try to help the world." (I)

"I liked Johnny a lot. Its crazy but I miss them. I would like another chance to go out and see them again. We might go farther the second time." (J)

"I feel that I have been poisoned toward them. It was something before the trip. In grammar school the biggest insult we could use was to call another kid a nigger." (E)

"I remember painting the room. The Negro kids who were helping didn't want to help. I felt they thought we were a bunch of do gooders painting their little old room trying to satisfy ourselves. It didn't mean that much to them anyway. It hurt me. Because I wasn't there for that reason. I was there to know them." (I)

What have you learned from the experience?

"I learned that they were people but I think I knew that before. I didn't like some of them, 'How dare they think I liked using them.' I found that I was poor in communicating with these people." (I)

"I'm pretty much twisted and mixed up about this whole situation of white versus Negro. I have a pre-planted feeling that there is something big and important in race relationship. I wish it wasn't that way. I wish I could accept them naturally without thinking about it." (E)

"I found that I am not the good, pure-hearted Christian that I thought I was regarding this issue." (J)

"I found that I was interested in our group even more than the Negro kids." (I)

"I learned that I was capable of feeling this way, helpless, projecting my anxieties upon the kids from Watts." (I)

"I didn't learn much new about the church. I saw things in action that I had heard about." (E)

"The church in the community seemed more like a political machine than a church. Their passing out birth control stuff looked like it was breaking down morality." (I)

"I felt that the church was trying to force change to come too quickly. I felt that I was being pushed into it. In their teen post meeting I felt them saying in their looks, what are you doing here? Go back to Claremont where you belong." (J)

These interviews reflect strong anxiety and frustration on the part of the suburban participants when confronted by an environment which they interpreted as hostile. There was hostility there, both in the environment and in some of the people with whom they came in contact. They even felt that the church was over against them. The feeling of "I wish it wasn't that way," and "I wanted to help the world," seem to be exclusive reactions that are struggling against the specific reality of the condition of people they met who live in Watts, people they can name and who know their names. The activities of the Immanuel Church were not understood as meeting the problems as they saw them but they saw them from constructs of exclusiveness. It is hard to understand how a church can hand out birth control devices to anyone and everyone who asks for them whether that person is married or not. In the suburb this would be an "immoral" act. In Watts it is an ethical act, a moral act, based on a norm of love, but this is hard to see through exclusive constructs of understanding.

And yet there is also reflected a recognition by the participants that they are a part of the problem too. One boy felt that his

attitude toward Negroes had been poisoned early in his life. Another felt that he missed the people in Watts, now that he was away from them, and hopes to return. This same boy says that he found that he wasn't the "pure, good-hearted Christian" he had thought he was. Whether he returns or not is questionable. He does recognize that he is called by a norm of behavior, greater than he displayed on his first visit, to return and work again with the people he met.

Above all, the trip was one of exposure to real issues and real people. The interaction was slight because of a separation built between the two cultures that was recognized and threatening. This great "thing" of race relations was seen as overwhelming. They shrunk from the thought that they could do anything about it. And yet they were aware that there was something that had to be done. They were not ready to give the answers and therefore were not ready to accept answers given by the church, yet they did recognize that the church was doing something. None of the participants was willing to grant the church credit for its activity. It still was seen as a way of behaving that was foreign to their exclusive norms, and it was. But this trip was just the beginning of thought and interaction.

The Glide Foundation

What did you expect to find before you went?

"A girl friend said that going this way I would only see the ugly part. I felt she was wrong. I expected to see the whole city, not just the surface." (I)

"I expected lots of big things that are fun as opposed to lots of little things. For example I expected the flight up and back

to be a highlight. I had a lot of questions about homosexuals but no knowledge of what was going to happen at all. I kind of thought of them as different but it is hard to say what kind of different." (K)

"I was frightened. I was afraid that the people in the group wouldn't mix right. I was looking for fun. I thought that the people we would meet would be weird, you know, different, interesting." (C)

"I was scared at first. I didn't think that the ministry would be working as directly involved in the Tenderloin as they were. I thought that there would be small groups coming to the church. I didn't expect the congregation to be so opposed to their work." (L)

What do you remember most vividly about the weekend? Why?

"The real closeness among the people in the city, particularly on the cable car. I'm really excited about the city now. All the great problems of the 20th century are coming to a head there. If they are to be solved they will be solved in the city: race, employment, alienation." (M)

"Two things come to mind, talking with Richard and the way he put up a front; he wasn't completely honest, and Ed Hansen. Ed was a person, open and honest." (N)

"I think of the fun we had. I'm glad that it wasn't all discussion and that we could have some fun like the cable car rides, the long walk, the aquarium, eating in Chinatown." (N)

"The first thing I remember is the ministers being so devoted in their areas and trying to help others who are different than they are." (L)

"The dance stands out. I think of those groups of people we were with from all different areas." (L)

"I think of what Don Kuhn said, the action and reaction of the church. If something happens you should be able to do the thing that you think best rather than checking with the church." (C)

"Victor was the highlight of my association with the Glide Church. We got to know him as a person." (K)

"Homosexuals are people." (C)

"I liked Wednesday best. We did fun things together and got

to know each other as a group: the walk, the dance, and things." (C)

"I liked being with our group of boys and girls, staying together, cooking together. I liked the planning and doing. We had freedom within our schedule. I got to know the individuals who were on our trip better." (K)

"I think of the weird ministry Glide has. They are trying to bring all kinds of people together to live together. It is weird because they are doing it, not just talking. Weird means something out of the ordinary. It can mean good or bad. Here it means good. It is curious, interesting." (I)

What have you learned from the experience?

"I learned what a homosexual is. He is a person drawn sexually to people of his sex. He is a person." (I)

"The church is working outside of its old brick building. It is infiltrating society. If church is to survive it has to accept society, show society that it doesn't think it is all bad." (I)

"About myself I learned that you have to treat people in certain ways in order to get along with them. You need to show them you think of them as a person and treat them that way. You can't force it but realize it before and let it come through." (K)

"You can't get to know others without getting exposed to them. A concentrated exposure shows you more what they are really like and what you are really like." (K)

"I don't like people with loud mouths like _____. (This person) always has to be loud, the center of attention. I react to these things because they are in me too. I learned this about others, you have to put up with them. Even though you don't like them a lot you have to treat them OK or they feel bad." (C)

"When we are in a real situation we can react to it and gain understanding rapidly. However, you can live in the midst of a situation, like the Chinese kids in San Francisco, and not know a thing about what is happening around you." (L)

"The strength of the Glide church is the ministers. Without them the church wouldn't succeed in any of the areas of its ministry." (L)

"I've become aware of different ways that the church can help. Our church needs to realize this. We need more people who realize this, lay and clergy." (L)

"I believe that the church should be more like it is in San Francisco. The idea of a segregated church has always bothered me." (K)

"My problems are similar, in varying degrees, to problems of others. I found this out in talking with others who were honest about their feelings." (N)

"The church seems to be going out to people who don't come. I still can't figure out if church is the best means of reaching people though." (N)

"I think of the congregation of Glide when you say church. It is a small congregation in a big city. I guess there is something to be said about worship services and music but it doesn't seem real. It should be a revolution that even stirs old people." (M)

The opinion scales revealed that the attitude change regarding homosexuals was significant for the participants as well as for the entire youth group. It seems that in the minds of the participants the trip was a mixture of three significant areas of experience however. They all overlap but never the less are separate: the fun, the group interaction, and the interaction with persons of difference. Before the trip fun is anticipated and rated as a prime incentive for these high schoolers, more important than either inter-group or intra-group relationships. Yet the prospect of meaningful relationships and experiences also contributed to the anticipation of the trip.

During the week in San Francisco the fun dimension became intertwined with the intra-group relationships. The sharing of experiences contributed to their enjoyment. At the same time that

this fun dimension was being realized the group seems to have reached a level of relationship that allowed honest interpersonal sharing and individual self-reflection.

The activities of the week centered upon the work of the Glide Foundation and the ministry to homosexual persons in particular. These experiences contributed to another dimension of shared group life. Although not described as essentially fun activities, they were value activities and contributed to the sense of purpose for the individuals and the group as a whole. This value support freed the individual participants to be more open and responsive to all phases of the week's experiences. It is suggested, therefore, that this trip, as was true for each trip, included activities of fun, intra-group relationships, and inter-group relationships, and that each of the three contributed to the quality of experience for the other two.

The value of direct relationships with individual persons such as the Reverend Ed Hansen, Victor (a homosexual), Richard (an eighteen year old male prostitute), et.al. was affirmed in the responses by the participants. The names of persons continually came to mind when they reflected upon the week and evaluated it. Once again we see that the confrontation with reality is vital to attitude change. Reality was found in the interpersonal relationships. The accounts of the respective experiences were interesting and in most cases accurate, but the realness of the meetings and discussions was the experience of individuals being honest with each

other. Reality is experienced, not discussed.

Campus Ministry

What did you expect to find before you went?

"I didn't expect it to be so radical. I think of college as Ivy League. This type of school is different, no dorms, their paper, the curriculum." (I)

"I didn't expect anything in particular. I was too busy studying before the trip." (N)

"I thought we would really get into what really happens at college. I was disappointed. I don't get much out of discussing and we mostly discussed." (O)

"I expected to see an urban college, one that serves people in urban areas." (I)

"I felt that the campus ministry would be a futile effort. Most people go to college and reject God." (I)

What do you remember most vividly about the weekend? Why?

"I was most impressed by the fact that the campus ministry was doing its job. They provided a permanent meeting place which was needed. They were working to unify the campus through the student body." (I)

"I remember the art exhibit and the girl who showed us around. Also I think of the college kids who took us to their churches on Sunday morning. They didn't look down on us." (O)

"I remember the closeness of the two campus ministers to the college society. They didn't seem like ministers. I couldn't help contrasting them to the minister at the Church. The difference was in honesty. They were honest, he wasn't." (O)

"I think of talking with the DuBois Club members. They seemed to put up a front and seemed confused. They were something like Richard in San Francisco." (N)

"I liked talking with the African students, especially about education. It is conditional. You can't conform education for all cultures. Each culture has the right to educate for its situation." (N)

"I didn't get anything out of the discussion with the members of the DuBois Club. They really didn't know what they were talking about." (O)

What have you learned from the experience?

"I learned that college kids weren't that much different than high school kids." (O)

"The college kids who were in the campus ministry group were not the popular types. Some seemed to be hiding behind the group." (O)

"The campus ministry was there for people like me, ones who wanted to be a part of the school but didn't know how, a place where they could ask questions." (I)

"The kids we met from the school were confused and looking for the best solutions to the problems of the world. The pressures of grades, the world, tend to run them in circles looking for the point of things, reasons." (N)

"I seem to be slipping into a pattern of confusion myself. I'm beginning to wonder about reasons. I'm always asking "why" now. This has increased because of the Outreach trips." (N)

"I learned that ministers can be closer to people, a great number of people, than it seems most parish ministers find time to be. A parish minister seems too busy for discussions." (N)

Referring back to the statistical data concerning the impact upon attitudes of this particular trip, we recall that there was very little change regarding persons of difference registered on the opinion scales of the participants on this trip. The reason given for this was that the concept of difference was not clearly established. There does seem to be some insight gained in other areas than understanding persons of difference, however. This is particularly apparent with regard to the comments about the church and its ministers. The campus ministers seemed to be a new breed to our

participants. They identified with their people, they were open to various points of view, willing to be honest about their hopes and fears, and not too busy to stop and talk with a person if he had something about which he wanted to talk.

This view was contrasted to a view of a suburban church, not necessarily their own, and its ministers who are "too busy for discussions," not willing or able to identify with their parishioners, and not honest about their feelings. "Honest" here means personal openness rather than verbal truth or lie about an objective reality. It is not what the minister in the "X" church said that made him appear dishonest to the high school student quoted, but rather what he did not say. He gave an impression of having all answers without giving any hint of doubt.

We can assume that if our young people had an opportunity to be with their own ministers for a weekend as intensively as they were with the campus ministers that they would have kinder words for their situation and their relationships with their people. Nevertheless, we cannot overlook the image of the busy, impersonal, institutionally oriented minister that exists in the minds of these young people. This is an image that reflects some degree of experience with ministers who appear to fit it.

One other comment echoes the views made in the earlier analysis of the statistical data for this Outreach trip. The young people were unable to accept the dimension of genuine concern reflected in the DuBois Club members' comments and activities. This reflects the

exclusive group norm that rejects such obvious difference as being without substance. There is a dimension of confusion in the New Left and it was evident in the views of the DuBois members, but there was also a dimension of genuine caring and lack of patience for individuals who are content to accept or ignore injustice. This was not accepted. A major reason for this rejection was that the meeting between the two groups was not interaction but debate. Neither group had the opportunity to meet the other as people. There was no superordinate goal apparent. Both groups felt obligated to defend their reference group's constructs.

This analysis indicates one failure of this trip. The encounters during the weekend were mostly dealing in abstractions. This is typical of the academic approach. Some meaningful experiences were a part of this weekend but, significantly, they were when the Claremont group did something with other persons which they could do together such as go to church, eat meals, even discuss education. The discussion of education was one that focused upon principles of education and individual rights in cultures far removed from each other. It did not threaten either group of participants directly. The significance of the discussion with the African students was not the topic of discussion. It was the fact of discussion, in which two obviously different peoples could share a common dialogue.

Chaplaincy to the Strip

What did you expect to find before you went?

"I knew that it would be a lot of fun with the group because of my experience on the last Outreach trip." (O)

"I decided on the spur of the moment to go. Las Vegas sounded glamorous. I expected fun." (P)

"I expected to see people gambling, unusual things. I don't like to anticipate. I only understand when I see things for myself." (G)

What do you remember most vividly about the weekend? Why?

"I remember our standing in downtown Las Vegas on the sidewalk. We could see all types of people." (O)

"The late hours. . . ." (O)

"Rick Mawson--talking to him was most impressive. He was so willing to explain his weird way of life." (P)

"I also remember how companionable everyone was on the trip. It is surprising how well you can get to know people over a weekend." (P)

"The way different people would approach Rick Mawson and feel that they were accepted and share themselves with him sticks out for me." (G)

"I also think of the many different people and their extremes of dress." (G)

"I liked the way we stayed in the church and had our own room. Being together with our group was neat." (O)

What have you learned from the experience?

"I wasn't as grouchy as I normally am. Maybe thinking of others helped." (O)

"I shouldn't be bigoted about others. There was a lot I didn't know, such as suicide, gambling, and alcohol." (P)

"I can understand now why people commit suicide, particularly in Las Vegas with its bright lights, its gambling, and great shallowness." (G)

"The church in Las Vegas is separated from the people on the

Strip. Rick is trying to bring them together. They don't realize it but he is doing it." (G)

"It occurred to me that little bits of church reach out into areas where there is no church. The rest seems to ride along. Church could spread faster if it would reach out. Rick was present, ready to listen. The church should learn to stop talking. I am more interested in the church now. It seems more lively and worth going to, but I don't know." (P)

"The church seems to be reaching out in different directions. It is not content to just stay at home." (O)

Aside from the attraction of going to Las Vegas with the expectation of the unusual, the outstanding aspect of the experience for the participants seems to be their finding that the church is present in Las Vegas in the middle of the Strip. A significant learning about what a Christian relationship to people of difference should be was gained through the Reverend Rick Mawson. This learning and recognition of the existence of a real person open and ministering to real needs led directly to a concept of the church as it is and as it should be. This is an interesting and important insight as to how lay people can be brought to confront the question of what their church's life and mission should be. At the least such exposure would open eyes to the direction in which the life of the church should be led.

Again, this learning occurred as the result of meeting, and sharing experiences with a real person in the environment where he finds his worth. It is suggested that our people would not have grasped a fraction of the understanding of the Chaplaincy to the Las Vegas Strip and its meaning for the Church if Rick Mawson had been

brought to the Claremont Church for an evening program.

The Church and Farm Labor

What did you expect to find before you went?

"I expected it to be a chance to be with the kids from our church, an opportunity to get to know them better. I thought that I would be most interested in farm labor but I found that deep down I wasn't." (Q)

"I thought of The Grapes of Wrath and expected to find the workers as human beings struggling together." (R)

"I didn't expect the experiences to be so real. I thought that we would talk about the situation but not with the people who are in the situation. I didn't expect it to be so exciting." (B)

What do you remember most vividly from the weekend? Why?

"The Methodist minister--I judged him as not truthful and prejudiced. I see a friendly pasted on smile instead of a real, honest man." (B)

"The girl from New York stands out in my mind. (She had come as a volunteer for the summer without pay.) She spoke of hope replacing apathy for the workers." (R)

"Riding home in the car stands out for me, particularly the conversation we had about love. I found an insight that fit the whole feeling I was searching for. I also had a chance to talk seriously with (one of the high school students) and I saw a side of her that I didn't know." (Q)

"I think of Julio. (He was the Vice-President of the N.F.W.A.) I won't forget his story of what he and his family experienced and his statement that he won't forget either." (R)

"The general lack of communication between all the groups we talked with stands out. Neither shared the other's experiences or understood them." (R)

"Talking with the Methodist minister from Delano and how mad I was at him comes through. We talked with him right after talking with Julio and facing a real situation of which the minister was unaware." (Q)

What have you learned from the experience?

"Facts were available and intellectually I understood it better than a lot of people do." (Q)

"I learned the facts about farm labor wages." (B)

"I learned facts about the strike from both sides." (R)

"The Arvin Congregational Church, in letting Reverend Yinger go because of his sympathy with the strike is very much like the Delano Methodist Church." (B)

"The churches reflect the views of the people in them." (R)

"If the Methodist minister is the Church then let's forget it. But I have to remember the migrant ministers and Reverend Yinger too." (Q)

"I learned about myself. I have the capacity to love within me. This is eros, philia, but I don't know about agape, probably agape too." (Q)

"I learned that you can get to know people pretty well in two days if you are with them all the time." (R)

"If I were in Arvin I would stand with Mr. Yinger but I don't have much to say about it now." (B)

"The woman from New York showed me that the workers were not alone. Others were helping them. It made me glad to know that other people would help." (B)

"The central issue is that men react when they can't have pride in who they are. The group movement gives this pride to them. They discover an identity and dignity." (R)

"I felt the duty of the church in this situation is to minister to both sides within each congregation. Communication is essential, not just facts but feelings. The need is for each to see and feel the whole situation. This seems to be what ministers can do." (R)

The three individuals interviewed from this Outreach trip reflect three different areas of interest and growth yet each shared the same experiences. This is a good example of the "hidden agenda" phenomenon found in each trip. The individual participants come to

the experience with their unique needs and concerns. "Q" obviously had the greatest need to come to terms with a personal concern regarding her ability to love and be loved. Her expectations were centered in the group experience. Her most vivid memory of the trip was a conversation in the car on the way home, after relationships had been established in a shared experience, about her central concern, love. Her learning was both intellectual and emotional. On the rational level she learned facts. On the emotional level she discovered a feeling about herself, she can love.

"R" was ready and anxious to deal with the condition of the farm labor strike as seen from both sides. She was able to be objective and evaluative. Her insights centered upon the conditions she found and the role of the Church that seemed most compatible with these conditions. Her evaluations were sound and her suggestions valuable. She was also impressed with the interpersonal dimensions of the outing, "I learned that you can get to know people pretty well in two days. . .," but her primary interest was in the issues involved in the relationships between growers, laborers, and the role of the church.

"B" was in the middle of these two positions represented by "Q" and "R." She was not prepared for such a vivid experience yet when she had it she found her sympathy strongly for the victim of poverty and illiteracy. Yet she was unable to come to terms with the demands that the situation she found had upon her. Her suburban experiences had not prepared her for direct involvement in real issues. She

considered involvement with the statement that if she were in Arvin she would stand with the Reverend Yinger. But she was not able to see that what the woman from New York had done was an option for her. She was glad ". . .that other people would help," but she feels that "she doesn't have much to say about things" now that she is back in Claremont. The social issue raised some questions for her that reflect directly upon her concept of herself as a responsible, able person. Back in Claremont she has been once again wrapped in the protective womb of suburbia and has lost sight of the opportunity for real involvement. She is awakened to being alive but restrained from living.

The final comment to be made concerning this trip is the dilemma expressed by all participants concerning the church in the situation. The ambiguity of having Christians on both sides of a moral issue is frustrating to persons seeking the identity of the Church. "Q" says, "If the Methodist minister is the Church then let's forget it. But I have to remember the migrant ministers and Reverend Yinger too." "R" seems to have a firm concept of the Church and suggests that its role in the situation is to mediate differences and work toward common understanding. Although she did not mention it, it was obvious that the representatives of the Church were not working in this area. She may subsequently be led to ask why, which would lead to ambiguity concerning the adequacy of the Church to function as an agent of reconciliation.

This ambiguity regarding the Church was reflected in the

responses to the statements on the attitude scale dealing with the role of the Church in our society, particularly number 17 (see page 147). In the minds of the young people responding to the attitude scale, however, see pages 147 and 149. There is no question but that the Church should take a stand on social issues if it would become relevant.

A City Chaplaincy

What did you expect to find before you went?

"I expected to see business men who worked there, also skid row. I wanted to see what people were like there as people." (S)

"I expected to see a lot more than we did. I thought we would go right down into the worst part of it and see rejected, poor, grubby, people who live in those missions. I projected a memory of men standing around all day with nothing to do. I have seen them from bus windows before." (Q)

"I expected to get a general view of different groups in a city such as residential units, racial groups, etc." (R)

What do you remember most vividly from the weekend? Why?

"What we read--this gave us a general overall view of the city." (R) (Excerpts from Harvey Cox, The Secular City, Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches, and Louis Wirth's article on the effects of urbanization from Cities and Churches were read by the participants and shared as the first function of the trip.)

"The guy preaching on the street corner--one guy was telling him off and the preacher kept on screaming." (S)

"Walking through the City Hall grounds and seeing all those derelicts on the lawn." (Q)

"The idea of the value of the single encounter with individuals sticks with me. Important things can happen in such an encounter." (R)

"In Buzz's ministry I think of the way people came right up to him because of his collar. Also the different individuals

who have jobs in the city who are open to people as Buzz is." (S)

"I remember the woman sitting at the end of a bench that I was on. She was ill and bent over, awful looking." (Q)

What have you learned from the experience?

"I got a lot of theory out of reading those books. They gave me an overall theory of the city." (Q)

"In the reading I learned that the Church cannot be inside one tent or station. It has to go out to all people, not wait for people to come to it. It should be open as Buzz Stevens was." (S)

"Buzz's ministry appeals to me. It seems the typical Church is superficial. There is something unreal about people sitting in church and talking about God. Going out and letting people be themselves is realness that I don't see in singing hymns, scripture reading, etc. There is some realness in (her minister's) sermons though."

"I learned that I really didn't know what poverty was like. I shy away from it. I haven't asked the question before." (S)

"I found I had a fascination for the city and at the same time I was afraid, afraid of the men in the city. I'd like to live in a big city." (R)

"I think the church's ministry in the city has to be varied. Buzz's ministry is part of it. There also has to be group work such as with civil rights groups, etc. Congregations vary, some are relevant, others are not." (R)

"I am hazy about individuals responding to the city. The individuals I mean are those we met, Ted the florist, responding in their unique relationships to the city, the pawn broker, etc. rising about sordidness." (Q)

"The hotel was grand but I see the city as pulling down its greatness." (Q)

It is of interest that all three of the persons interviewed from this trip mentioned the reading of books as an important part of their experience. Assigned reading was done as the first activity after the group had arrived in the First Methodist Church in

downtown Los Angeles, which is where they stayed. It is just surmising, but it may well have been that the reading provided extra meaning for the participants because it came at the beginning of anticipated activities that were anxiety producing. All of the participants knew as they read that they would be spending some hours in the middle of downtown Los Angeles with various persons who worked there whom they had not met. There is no data to support this, but it is doubted that the reading would have had such impact if it was given to be read in the participant's suburban church with no prospect of any confrontation with the city or city people.

The activities of the weekend centered upon conversations with persons throughout the inner city with whom Buzz Stevens had made previous contact in his role as city chaplain. It is interesting that none of the participants in their interviews focused upon the persons with whom most of their time in the city was spent. There seemed to be three general categories to which the participants responded: first, the city as a whole, a condition, even a process; secondly, the various depraved persons seen in the city but not directly engaged in conversation; and thirdly, the unique ministry of Buzz Stevens which is based upon a single encounter principle. It seems that none of the individuals met, a florist, a shoeshine stand operator, a pawn broker, a clerk behind the counter of a cigaret and candy counter in a hotel, an owner-operator of a small hamburger stand, were impressive as individuals but rather were remembered as parts of the whole which is the city. Each of these people were met

and conversed with while they were involved in their tasks of employment. It might be that our young people were not able or not allowed by the individuals met to overcome what Cox calls the I-You relationship and get to know the city workers as more than renderers of services. If this is so, it is an interesting comparison to the ministry of Buzz Stevens who is attempting to meet persons in the city as unique individuals and more than dispensers of goods or services. The young people responded to this approach but seemed unable to adopt it on such short notice. It may have been also that the various persons met at their work were not able or willing to let down their occupational fronts for the young people, where they had done it for a young minister wearing a collar.

There is the interesting possibility that the clerical collar is an identity symbol much as the vocational trappings of the respective individuals met in the city are symbols. It may be that one way, if not the way, to personal relationship in urban culture is through a relationship that begins with I-You relationships.

It is hard to determine just what happened to the young people who participated on this trip. It came at the end of the Operation Outreach project and previous learnings and attitudes had been affected as a result of the other trips. There does seem to be an attitude of openness toward the city reflected in the comments although there is still some fear of its powers, i.e. ". . .I had a fascination for the city but at the same time I was afraid." "The hotel was grand but I see the city pulling it down." There was an

acceptance of the ministry of Buzz Stevens, ". . .going out and letting people be themselves is realness." Yet one participant recognized the need for other ministerial and church relationships to the city than the single encounter.

As was true in the other trips, a major learning and attitude forming insight came regarding the role of the church in the secular life of our culture. Observing and being in the context of the ministry of the city chaplaincy stretched the imagination of the participants to consider the task of the Church to the world outside of its doors. The resulting comments reflected critically upon traditional concepts of church and suggested an acceptance of the openness to conditions of life as it is found in the ministry of Buzz Stevens.

It was the hope of this writer that such experiences would stretch the imagination of the participants and open new dimensions of understanding the relevance of the Church for them. The interviews from this trip, those from the previous trips, and the results of the opinion scale data indicate that this stretching and challenging was accomplished and that the Christian Church became an option for relevant relationship to life for many of the participants.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter is written to draw together insights that, to this writer, reflect more general implications of this study. These insights are not necessarily supported by research in the field or in the library, but they are heavily dependent upon the information and experiences gained in the process of developing data through research for this paper. The entire paper, therefore, exists as support for these summary statements.

This summary divides itself into three major areas of analysis and comment dealing with the conditions of suburban living, discovering reality, and contemporary conversion.

I. The Condition of Suburban Living

The second chapter was intended to develop a comprehensive view of the condition of suburban living in an urban society. Reflected here are generalities derived from this study and related to the point of view found in that chapter.

Secondhand living, living in abstraction

As a segment of the affluent society, the suburbs stand as the recipients of the fruits of revolutions in the use of machines, time, and manpower. These revolutions, accentuated now by the increased efficiencies demonstrated by automation, and now cybernetics, have forced individuals to seek a new basis for understanding their value

as human beings. Ironically, they have sought this sense of self-worth in the products of the industrial machine that is the cause of their devaluation as producers. Man still sees himself as a part of the production cycle, but his role has shifted to that of consumer and the suburb is the headquarters of consumption.

Being replaced in the role of producer, becoming more and more dependent upon other persons and machines to provide his basic needs, man in urban culture becomes involved in what James Wall calls second-hand living. Secondhand living finds man freed of the necessity of performing the essential tasks that in the past have provided him the sense of value he has known as a producer. As consumer he is removed from the reality of producing and seeks reality in using. This frustrates rather than fulfills, however, for man is a being who responds to the challenge of goals to be met. Production provided goals and allowed man to sense the satisfaction of achievement from which he derived his concept of self-value. There is no satisfying man's craving for goods and services, however, for there is no end to his need. Consuming is neither creative nor fulfilling. There is no function of consuming, which can satisfy man's basic need, a sense of personal value. Production can contribute to this sense of value for man when he knows himself to be a part of the real process of creating when, without him, the product would not have been produced. As a consumer, however, the value is not in the man but in the product. Whether one man, as an individual, uses the product or not, he still sees the product as possessing value because someone else may use it.

As a consumer, man is moved out of the realm of participating in a real experience of being integral in a creative function to the abstract experience of seeking value beyond himself. The challenge to man in this situation is whether or not he can establish a new goal that is consistent with his position in history and condition of being a human being. Our affluent society gives ample evidence to support the fact that the goal of man discovering how to produce in order to satisfy man's basic needs has been reached. The new goal may well be in the area of developing human concern for a fellow human being that would be expressed in the sharing of the goods made available by the achieved goals of past generations to those who have yet to receive those goods.

As a phenomenon, the suburb of contemporary America reflects the dilemma of man's search for real value in the abstraction of secondhand living. The production experience of firsthand living as found on the farm or in the blacksmith's shop of early America is no longer available to suburban man. And yet he pursues his search for value based upon the same production-oriented norm. As we said earlier, the role of consumer is not another norm of value from that of production as value but rather the repositioning of man along the assembly line from the beginning of the line, where he was the producer, to the end of the line, where he is the consumer. In prior days he occupied both ends of the line. In a sense, we can say that suburban man, as consumer, is only half the man he used to be, based upon the production-oriented norm of value.

We are now in a place in history where man can be freed of his role of being a machine and can aspire to becoming a human being. As we have said, this requires a radical shift of value scales, but the very life of our culture depends upon our finding the means whereby this can be done. It well may be that now as never before the gospel of Jesus Christ is relevant to the condition of man. It rests with the Church to carry that gospel to our age that it may know the salvation which is to experience the joy of being alive during the days of our breathing.

Suburban man, sensing the presence of death about him, struggles in his effort to find salvation in the goods of production. Recognizing his movement away from the firsthand experience of life, he ascribes value to secondhand living. Reality becomes an enemy; abstraction and insulation from conditions of difference that would force an honest appraisal of one's value such as poverty, race, hate, and suffering are accepted as proper styles of living. This norm is apparent in the young people who are the products of the suburban homes. Their education is one of abstractions rewarding literate skills. Education's goal is the production of persons to fit society's needs. The uniqueness of individuals is dulled so that the uniform needs of society will be met. Rewards of goods and services are promised. Life is talked about and prepared for but held off in the distance, not to be lived now. Unknown but promised, life is to come to those who conform to the exclusive norms and abstract goals. The right to live is earned by giving up much of life.

This is reflected in churches of the suburbs also. Christian living is discussed and accepted in its abstract conceptualization but largely rejected in its real dimensions of action and firsthand involvement with people and issues that threaten previously accepted "truths."

The search for reality

We are in error if we claim that the suburb is without what we have referred to as reality. There is yet the opportunity for firsthand experience, genuine interpersonal relationship, love and hate, joy and fear. This is present in the family. The suburb is in fact motivated essentially by the needs of family life. This being true, the suburb is essentially matriarchal. Characterizing the matriarchal or feminine as protective and the masculine as adventurous, we make a hasty, yet in this writer's mind, accurate conclusion that this condition contributes heavily to the essential exclusiveness of the suburb. The matriarchal interest acts for safety and security. In a society where value is seen as being essentially material, security partakes of this image and is understood to mean material abundance and its protection. The adventurous nature of the masculine in society, found in the market place, is out of place in the suburb because it learns to live with difference, and accepts change as a tolerable possibility.

It is not difficult to understand why the norm of the matriarchal suburb is accepted by the males of suburbia, for they are drawn to the realness of family relationship. The increasing distance

between man and the production process in the market place leaves an emptiness in his concept of self-worth that must partake of whatever semblance of reality, whatever proof of being alive and needed can be found. This is available in the home.

Yet the home is the domain of the woman. Men have two alternatives in this situation. Both include the acceptance of the family and home as the main, if not only, resource for reality. Men may accept the matriarchal norm of security as their own while resenting the fact and the essential feminine nature of this norm. This resentment can be reflected in a suburban male's rejection of the home and the domestic dimensions of suburban living while yet seeking his identity group within the suburban culture. This may explain the number of broken homes in the suburb as well as the boom in golf course construction. The second alternative is to concede the dominance of the feminine norm and move from a masculine norm of freedom and variety to the feminine of security and sameness. This results in a neuterization of the masculine members of the suburban society as well as an emasculated society. Real masculine experience threatens the security of a matriarchy. Short of this, masculinity is vicariously participated in, or we might say, abstractly experienced in such diversions as professional athletics.

We are not suggesting that the above discussion describes the actual condition of every member of the suburban society. We are suggesting that these forces and options are present in the dynamics of suburban living for every member of the suburban society.

We suggested in the second chapter that a healthy society must recognize the value of the security of the suburb as well as the freedom of the city and allow both to function in tension. The same is true of the concepts of the masculine and the feminine in society as just discussed. The Church cannot cast its lot for one or the other. It must recognize the value and necessity of both the urban and suburban and the masculine and feminine, if man is to become all that he might be.

The main point here is that the reality of family and home are accepted and acknowledged by members of the suburban society. The reality of conditions of difference and the claim of peoples of difference are denied reality and therefore abstracted. Persons of need can be recognized in the mind's eye but turned away from in person. Money can be sent to the needy of India but the needy of one's own community are considered deserving of their fate, or "not really as badly off as some people think."

II. Discovering Reality

Reality, relationship with real people in real circumstances

We have seen that the home and family provide the basis for real human experience and thus for value for the suburban man. From this we recognize that man discovers himself in relationship with other persons. From our research, particularly the experience at California State at Los Angeles, we discovered that the subject matter of discussions or conversations was not the important aspect

of relationship. Rather, we found, that the basic fact of shared experience, be it verbal or acted out, mental or physical, is the important dimension of relationship. The reality of interpersonal relations, two persons being human beings with each other, allows individuals to move on into the realm of the abstract with meaning, that is, topics of conversations become important only in the context of the reality of human relationship. Reality is experienced, not discussed.

It is not difficult to move one step further and recognize that if society suffers from emasculation resulting from the acceptance of a feminine norm of security that rejects difference as threatening, and if human beings discover their value in relationship with other human beings, the prospect of aiding persons from the exclusive society to come into relationship with persons of difference beyond their society is a sound move toward individual and social wholeness.

This was recognized in another way in the Outreach trips. The greatest, if not the only values derived from the experiences of the program for the participants resulted from face to face relationships with individuals in the context of the environment in which these individuals find their meaning as persons of value for others. In most instances during the personal interviews with the participants, the response to the question of what was remembered from the various experiences brought an individual to mind as the center of their recollection and insight. The persons found significant were

remarkably varied from participant to participant. Some found the minister visited at the point of outreach to be the significant person, others remembered a person of difference encountered, still others found a member of their own group to be central to the value of their experience. In each case, the person found significant was one with whom the participant could be open and who in turn was open with them.

We must emphasize the importance of encountering persons outside of the environment of the exclusive society. Persons of difference are different for various reasons not least of which is their physical environment. To meet a person outside of his environment is to recognize difference. At the same time it often limits, if not eliminates, the possibility of understanding difference and discovering a human being. Often when the participants began to ask themselves questions regarding difference, having experienced the environment and circumstances of the persons of difference, they became aware not only of the forces that bear upon persons and shape their identity beyond the suburb but they became more aware of themselves and those with whom they were making the trip. Upon returning to their homes in the suburbs they became more aware of the forces at work in their environment also. Without exposure to persons who live outside of one's exclusive environment we are led to assume that all persons live as we do, think as we do, and should therefore be as we are. The exclusive norm perpetuates itself.

Real issues--pain

We must not assume that it is an easy task to bring persons from the exclusive society into relationship with persons of difference. On the contrary, it is difficult. Such an experience is in direct contradiction to the norm of security, for if sameness is safety, difference is danger. The exclusive method of dealing with difference has been to stay clear of persons of difference and abstractly deal with information concerning them and their condition of living. The prospect of coming into relationships with persons of difference, therefore, means confronting reality as opposed to abstraction. Reality is pain.

Reality beyond the suburban matriarchy threatens the very basis of whatever value suburban man has found. We have discussed the suburban norm of goods and services as the ultimate source of value. We have pointed out the great accumulation of goods that exists in the suburbs. Exposure to persons of difference, more often than not, implies exposure to persons of need. To come to know these persons as individuals places the exclusive person in tension for the vacuum of need calls upon him to share his material possessions, which is to share his very value.

The inclusive norm of Christianity is intellectually, abstractly accepted by many within the exclusive society. What Dietrich Bonhoeffer has called "cheap grace" is token compliance to the inclusive norm by an individual who is basically exclusive. To confront the demands of one's fellow man as a person who needs you

challenges the Christian to move beyond cheap grace to the very point of losing one's life for another. The gospel is ultimately relevant here for it is precisely the promise of faith made through Jesus Christ, if men would lose their lives for His sake that they would find them, that shows us the way to salvation in our world. And yet, suburban churches have far to go to communicate the real dimensions of losing life for the sake of another. An illustration of this is found in the responses to statement #15 as compared to statement #23 in the attitude scale results discussed in the previous chapter. The responses to statement #15, which was a negative statement regarding the possibility of a Negro person living next door, were strongly inclusive both before and after the Outreach trips. Statement #23 was to the effect that white people should be willing to suffer to insure that Negroes gain equal rights. The response to this before the trip was scattered across the spectrum of negative and positive answers. There was a significant movement of responses toward inclusive, or positive answers following the program, but the amount of support for the Negro cause shown on this statement did not equal the support for the cause reflected on statement #15. Our conclusion is that sentiment for the needs of others decreases directly in proportion to the degree of pain that the meeting of those needs causes the responders. Teenagers were not aware of the possibility of pain should they have a Negro move next door to them. The prospect of their suffering became more real in statement #23 and their responses became more ambivalent. These are young people who

identify in some degree with the Church.

Honesty and dishonesty, responses to the prospect of pain

Two central concepts force themselves upon us at this time, honesty and dishonesty. It is suggested that they are applicable to the two possible responses to reality available to persons. Honesty is found where a person has the courage, be it from faith, ignorance, stubbornness, or whatever, to accept the possibility of pain that is involved in being open to the multifarious conditions of human existence including one's own manifold dimensions. Dishonesty is the course chosen when one seeks to escape the pain of reality and chooses instead some degree of deception or self-illusion. The suburb seems caught up in dishonesty. As a protective society it seeks to avoid controversy, which is a painful tension resulting from a confrontation of differences, and thus is hesitant to deal with real issues that call for openness to differences.

Honesty was found present in every ministry of significance visited by the Outreach program. In each situation the persons who were the Church, in Watts, Las Vegas, San Francisco, Woodland Hills, et. al., were seeking to understand the conditions of the people to whom they ministered. They were open and honest about themselves, the Church and others. Wherever the Church was found lacking in compassion, concern, or comprehension it was not willing to risk its security to be honest about itself, its members, or those to whom it should be ministering. This is the dishonesty, the self-illusion that is a protection against pain but also a guarantee of death.

"Then Jesus told his disciples, 'if any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever would save his life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for my sake will find it. For what will it profit a man, if he gains the whole world and forfeits his life? Or what shall a man give in return for his life?'" (Matthew 16:24-26 Revised Standard Version)

The Church's task of ministry must include openness, an honesty that does not pre-judge but seeks instead to empathize, to ask questions in order that it may learn what is really happening and to whom. In an exclusive society, where dishonesty is a predominant norm, a major task of the Church is to be an agent for honesty.

Honesty does not create pain, it accepts pain as a reality. It also accepts joy as a reality. To be able to face joy and pain openly is the beginning of life. To deny full pain is to deny full joy and in the process deny real life.

Defined another way, the task of the Church is to face and deal with the real issues of human experience. This does not exclude the real and pressing conditions of the suburban home nor does it exclude the real and pressing problems of society beyond the home. As we established in the second chapter, it is not possible to separate one part of our urban society from another and say that it is not affected by or does not affect the other parts. The exclusion of difference is unequivocally in opposition to the Christian concern and task of seeking life for each person and for all peoples in the name of Jesus Christ.

III. Contemporary Conversion

The hung up suburbanite

The tension between the exclusive and the inclusive norms is real. It not only exists between persons, it exists within them. Recognizing that each individual is a complicated being with many group identifications and influences within and upon him, we cannot be too hasty in oversimplifying the condition of suburban man as being exclusive and therefore anti-inclusive in every instance, or vice-versa. Rather, each man seems to have particular areas where he is freer to risk himself than in other areas. Each man experiences inner tensions and tensions in personal relationships in those areas where exclusive and inclusive norms conflict. It is our primary contention, however, that this being true, each man still has a basic group identification which is essentially exclusive or essentially inclusive.

We have defined the Church's task as being the changing of attitudes within people from basically exclusive to basically inclusive. We have suggested some techniques that have proven effective with young people in this task. We must note, however, that a movement in attitude toward inclusiveness is not a satisfactory end for the Church. What is sought is a complete change of attitude resulting from the adoption of the church, visible and invisible, as the basic group of identity, i.e. accepting Jesus Christ as Lord. This is not an easy change to accomplish. It was found in our Outreach program that many attitudes expressed after the program

reflected movement toward more acceptable attitudes, based upon the inclusive norm, but were far from the most inclusive response. This should give us some sense for hope but not a sense of a goal accomplished. This is illustrated by the response of one young woman to the farm labor situation in Delano. Having seen the poverty of the migrant worker, she decided that it was more important for the migrant children to work and increase the family income than it was for them to go to school. She had begun to understand the situation but was not able to see the full dimension of the problem because she was not with the people of difference long enough. The immediate need seemed so great that she lost sight of the long range solution. Nor, and this is the most significant point, did she feel that she could in any way contribute to the alleviation of the problem. An exclusive abstraction was being formed in her mind as she recognized the humanity of migrant workers and felt their need. She had not, however, recognized herself as involved in the condition of the migrant and his family. Her basic orientation is still exclusive although she was beginning to feel the tension of recognizing that others are seeking the material well-being which she enjoys. The challenge of God that being with people of difference helps to communicate, that love her neighbor as herself, had not yet dawned upon her. She is moving in that direction, sensing that there is life to be had within the Church. She is not sure just how or where. She is not yet able to give up the security of the exclusive group that has provided whatever sense of value she now possesses. She is hung up and she is not alone.

We can expect that many persons who are given the opportunity to be with people of difference, as discussed in the earlier chapters, will come away from the experience troubled because their security has been threatened by the demand of peoples, or more accurately, a person of difference. Interaction with persons of difference not only reveals reality in the experience of exposure but also helps the individual participant re-evaluate his own exclusive environment, viewing it from a new perspective as a result of his new vision. In both instances, seeing persons of difference and their environment in a new way and seeing one's own environment in a new way, doubts develop that are the result of the breaking down of norms that had hitherto provided identity. This doubt is painful, not pleasant for individuals raised on the concept of the value of certainty and security. The reaction to this pain of doubt has not been a rejection of inclusive norms by those who participated in the Outreach trips, however. Though our research was not conducted on the growth of persons and their attitudes subsequent to the Outreach trips it has been observed that there is a tendency for the participants to remain at the stage of growth toward inclusive identity which they had reached at the conclusion of the Outreach experiences. Pain is resolved by abstracting the realities encountered as the young woman just discussed had done. Another example of this abstracting of painful inclusive attitudes is represented by this comment, "It is too bad that we are so far away from those people. They sure could use our help." It would seem that there is a necessity to continue to provide

opportunities for exposure and interaction with peoples of difference if continued growth toward inclusiveness and an ultimate change of basic orientation is to be accomplished plus the use of all other methods available.

Contemporary conversion

The comments of this last chapter have moved quickly over some serious accusations regarding suburban life and the Church's task in that life. It is hoped that the brevity of the discussion will not seriously detract from the recognition of the problem of exclusion, the nature of inclusiveness, and the central role of the Church in accomplishing a basic shift in our society from the former to the latter. We have suggested that this shift will take place on a basis of individuals, confronted by other individuals, within the life of the Church which represents the ultimate inclusive norm, that of Christian love, altering their basic group identification from exclusive to inclusive. We have discussed this as a movement from abstracted implied realities to reality itself and suggested that the attraction of this involvement in reality is the prospect of life as opposed to death. In no uncertain terms we are discussing conversion, a conversion from the exclusiveness of the world to the inclusiveness of Jesus Christ. The promise of this challenge of conversion is life, abundant and real. The sorrow we bear is the awareness of the unfulfilled potential for human existence that goes without blooming in persons who are unchallenged, unwilling, or unable to respond to the call and stand with Jesus Christ at the

side of the people of our world who need someone to care enough to stand with them. The Church is called by its God to care for all persons. If it is content with a lesser mandate it is not the Church of Jesus Christ, and its people are not the people of God.

The opportunity of our day for significant steps to be taken toward the realization for all men of the full dimension of human existence, revealed to us in Jesus Christ, is great beyond this writer's ability to know or express. The joyful word in the midst of this opportunity is the realization that the Christian Church has a central role to play in the reorientation of our society. The question that remains to be answered, however, is whether the Church can respond to the opportunity or whether it is so invested in the exclusive suburban society that it must die if the real message of the love of God known through Jesus Christ is to be heard loudly and clearly. It is this writer's hope and faith that the Church can and will survive. Its survival rests in its ability to renew itself to meet the need of all men, need which is essentially religious, the need to be loved. It is to that end that this dissertation is dedicated.

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APPENDIX

Name _____

OPERATION OUTREACH OPINION SCALE

Each of the following statements has a five point scale following it upon which you are asked to record your honest reaction to the statement. Do not respond on the basis of what you think a "proper" answer should be. Try to record your present attitude. Take your time reading the statement and then carefully mark the one response that comes closest to reflecting your feelings. After marking your response continue on to the next statement. You may change an answer if you wish but make it clear which response you decide upon.

A. . .Strongly Agree
B. . .Agree
C. . .Undecided

D. . .Disagree
E. . .Strongly Disagree

A B C D E

1. If a person works hard enough he can accomplish whatever he sets out to do.

2. A family with a mentally retarded member should try to keep him with it at home rather than placing him in an institution.

3. I could not respect a person who is homosexual.

4. Most people who seek counseling help could solve their own problems if they tried.

5. The greatest value of a college education is that it increases the opportunities for getting a well paying job after graduation.

6. I think gambling should be legalized because people will gamble anyway.

7. Most men on skid row are so far gone that they cannot be helped.

8. Church membership would mean more to me if the Church were more actively involved in social issues.

A B C D E

9. Most migrant agricultural workers are incapable of doing work that requires more than minimum intelligence.

10. People who are divorced are more likely to fail in other areas of their life also.

11. I would be just as willing to hug a mentally retarded child as a normal child.

12. A person living in Claremont probably is of more value to society than one living in a low income area.

13. There are forces in society that do not allow some people to succeed no matter how hard they may try.

14. Most members of juvenile gangs would be good citizens if they did not belong to their gang.

15. I would prefer not to live next door to Negroes.

16. Seeking counseling help from a minister is comparable to seeking medical help from an M.D.

17. While Church is alright for some people many would do just as well if it did not exist.

18. Individuals who work in the gambling industry are less desirable than those working in the electronics industry.

19. There are good marriages but no marriage satisfies each partner completely.

20. College students agitating for social change are not using their college time well.

21. We should welcome a person who is homosexual into our group just as we would one who is heterosexual (normal).

A B C D E

22. On some issues a minister should protest publicly, picket lines, marches, etc., to show others where he stands.

23. Negroes have suffered so much that it is fair to expect white people to sacrifice so that Negroes can gain equal rights.

24. The work of Conferences of the United Church of Christ is just as important in the life of the Church as the work of local congregations.

25. The children of migrant workers should be allowed to drop out of school earlier than other children so that they can help their families earn a living in the fields.

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